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FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS

NUMBER TWENTY-THREE

TRADITIONS
OF THE
EARLIEST VISITS OF
FOREIGNERS

IN
NORTH AMERICA

The First Formed and First Inhabited of the
Continents

BY
REUBEN T. DURRETT

A. B. M. C. S. M. C. C.

Secretary of The Filson Club





REUBEN T. DURRETT, A.B., LL.B., A.M., LL.D.

President of The Filson Club

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TRADITIONS
OF THE
Earliest Visits of Foreigners

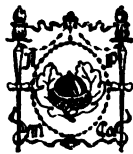
TO
NORTH AMERICA



The First Formed and First Inhabited of the
Continents

BY
REUBEN T. DURRETT
A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D.
President of The Filson Club

Illustrated



LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
JOHN P. MORTON & COMPANY
(Incorporated)
PRINTERS TO THE FILSON CLUB
1908

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INTRODUCTION

AT the beginning of our Civil War there lived in Louisville an elderly gentleman by the name of Griffin, who, though belonging to neither of the learned professions, had read many books and stored his excellent memory with much useful information. He was of Welsh descent, and proud of the long line of Cambrians he numbered among his ancestors. I knew him well, and was fond of talking with him about the many interesting things that occurred while Louisville was progressing from a straggling row of log cabins and ponds along unpaved Main Street, between First and Twelfth, to the mansions of brick and stone along the many paved streets now occupied by wealth and fashion.

Knowing that he prided himself upon being of Welsh descent, I asked him one day what he thought of the tradition that Madoc, a Welsh prince, had planted a colony of his countrymen in America in the Twelfth century. He answered that he had become interested in the subject when he was young in years; that he had read all he could secure of what had been printed about it; that he had also learned some things from tradition which had not gotten into print, and that this country in early

times had many traditions on the subject which came originally from the Indians. He added that he considered the Madoc tradition as plausible and as worthy of belief as any of the stories of the pre-Columbian discoveries of America.

I then asked him if any of the traditions he had heard were connected with the Falls of the Ohio, and if they were so related would he much oblige by giving them to me? He answered that he was not at the Falls of the Ohio when Louisville was founded, but that he knew some of the pioneers, such as General Clark, Squire Boone, James Patten and others whose lives had been prolonged to his times. These pioneers had intercourse with friendly Indians, who frequently visited the Falls for the purpose of trade, and from them the following traditions connected with the Falls were obtained.

On the north side of the river, where Jeffersonville now stands, some skeletons were exhumed in early times with armor on which had brass plates bearing the Mermaid and Harp, which belong to the Welsh coat-of-arms. On the same side of the river, further down, a piece of stone supposed to be part of a tombstone was found with the date 1186 and what seemed to be a name or the initials of a name so effaced by time as to be illegible. If that piece of stone was ever a tombstone over a grave,

the party laid beneath it must have been of the Welsh colony of Madoc, for we have no tradition of any one but the Welsh at the Falls so early as 1186. In early times the forest along the river on both sides of the Falls for some miles presented two kinds of growth. Along the margin of the river the giant sycamores and other trees of the primeval forest stood as if they had never been disturbed, but beyond them was a broad belt of trees of a different growth, until the belt was passed, when the original forest growth again appeared. This indicated that the belt had been deprived of its original forest for agricultural or other purposes, and that a new forest had grown up in its stead. He said, however, it was possible that the most important of these traditions learned from the Indians concerned a great battle fought at the Falls of the Ohio between the Red Indians and the White Indians, as the Welsh Indians were called. It has been a long time ago since this battle was fought, but it was fought here and won by the Red Indians. In the final struggle the White Indians sought safety on an island since known as Sandy Island, but nearly all who sought refuge there were slaughtered. The remnant who escaped death made their way to the Missouri River, where by different movements at different times they went up that river a great distance. They were known to exist there

by different parties who came from there and talked Welsh with the pioneers. Some Welshmen living at the Falls of the Ohio in pioneer times talked with these White Indians, and although there was a considerable difference between the Welsh they spoke and the Welsh spoken by the Indians, yet they had no great difficulty in understanding one another. He further said, concerning this tradition of a great battle, that there was a tradition that many skeletons were found on Sandy Island mingled promiscuously together as if left there unburied after a great battle, but that he had examined the island a number of times without finding a single human bone, and that if skeletons were ever abundant there they had disappeared before his time.

Mr. Griffin in the foregoing statement added but little to the Madoc tradition as it had already appeared in the text and appendix of the publication under consideration, but as far as he went he confirmed the statement of others. As these traditions are fully set forth in the text and appendix they will be left there to speak for themselves. There are stranger things in Welsh history than these traditions. The Welsh stand out in history as one of the most remarkable of peoples. Their patriotism and endurance and courage have seldom been surpassed by any nation. The legions of Rome were not able to sub-



HUTCHINS' FALLS OF THE OHIO IN 1766

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due them in five hundred years; the Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and Danes failed to conquer them in another five hundred years, and the Anglo-Normans, after all the bloody work of their predecessors, failed to subdue them. They were not subdued until the reign of Edward the First of England, and were then the victims of fraud. When David and Llewellyn, the last princes chosen by the people, were gotten rid of by the foulest of means and the principedom of Wales without an acceptable sovereign, King Edward had an act of Parliament passed attaching Wales to England. But when he came to the appointing of a Prince of Wales the Welsh gave him to understand that they would never submit to a prince of English appointment unless the prince chosen were a native of Wales, who spoke the Welsh language and whose life was spotless. King Edward, seeing that the Welsh were in earnest in their demands for a prince and being anxious for such a peace in the country as would enable him to invest certain Welsh estates in his English friends, bethought him of a fraud to satisfy the Welsh. His wife Eleanor was soon to become a mother, and he had her removed from England to Caernarvon Castle in Wales, where she soon gave birth to a son. King Edward then summoned the barons and chief men of Wales to meet him at Ruthin Castle, also in Wales. When they were

assembled he told them he was now prepared to give them a prince who was a native of Wales, who could not speak a word of English, and whose life no one could stain. He then made his infant son Prince of Wales, and the firstborn of the English sovereign has ever since been Prince of Wales. The fraud—which was quite unworthy of a King of England—had the effect of subduing the Welsh after the Romans, the Saxons, the Jutes, the Danes, and the Normans had failed to conquer them in a thousand years. They fought against odds among their protecting mountains, and could neither be conquered nor driven from their rugged homes nor made to submit to a foreign ruler. After twelve centuries of hard but successful fighting against frightful odds and after many frauds and deceptions practiced both by themselves and the English, they at last were captured by a fraud and deception which it would seem ought not to have deceived them under the circumstances. They had often before been deceived by the English to their cost, and ought not to have given credence to the words and promises of a king whose words and promises they had often before found unworthy of belief.

It has been the habit of The Filson Club to illustrate its publications with a likeness of the author and such other pictures as were deemed appropriate. When it

came to selecting illustrations for the twenty-third publication but little that was deemed appropriate seemed to be in reach. It was at last determined to illustrate the Madoc tradition, which is the principal part of the book, with pictures from Wales, the native land of Madoc and his colony. In a book entitled "Wales Illustrated" enough and more than enough beautiful steel engravings were found to answer the purpose. Many of the originals of these illustrations were connected with Prince Madoc by having been in the possession of different members of his family, which made the pictures particularly appropriate. There are but few lands which present such an array of natural and artificial scenes of beauty and grandeur as Wales. The antiquarian will find there castles and the remains of castles, churches and the remains of churches, cathedrals and the wrecks of cathedrals, abbeys and the ruins of abbeys which the Welsh built in different ages from the ancient Celts to the modern English. The buildings show the style of architecture used in fortifications by the Celts, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Anglo-Normans as the centuries advanced from the First to the Thirteenth, and during these centuries castles were built on the mountains' heights at almost every accessible point, until the whole country seemed to be covered with castles and castellated structures to

secure the inmates from the assaults of those on the outside. Abbeys and churches and cathedrals were also erected in the valleys on which the mountains frowned, at places enough to indicate that the Welsh had early been converted to Christianity and that they had kept the faith through the centuries. The lover of nature will look in vain to find elsewhere so many striking views of mountains and valleys, of picturesque villages, of cataracts and of natural passes between mountain peaks.

One of the most charming of these illustrations is the picture of the village of St. Asaph and its cathedral which dates back to the middle of the Sixth century. In pioneer times the name of this Welsh village was given to a station erected by General Ben Logan in Lincoln County, Kentucky, in 1775. Logan afterward, in 1781, donated a part of his land to the District of Kentucky for a court house and other public buildings, and the town of Stanford was built thereon and took the place of the original St. Asaph. Who in the wilderness of Kentucky could have suggested the name of St. Asaph?

Another is the castle of Caernarvon, which is perhaps the finest castellated structure in Wales. It was chosen by the King of England as an abode worthy of royalty when Edward removed his Queen Eleanor there from

England and she there gave birth to the first English Prince of Wales. He was born in fraud, made prince in fraud, and was nothing more than a fraud all his life.

Another is the castle of Harlech, which was besieged and taken by Owen Gwynnedd, the father of Prince Madoc, in 1144. The assault was desperate against a fortress up to that time deemed impregnable, but Owen Gwynnedd, a prince of exceptional courage, endurance, and tact, by perseverance reduced walls that had stood firm since the days of William Rufus.

These illustrations, with but a single exception, represent scenes in Wales with which Prince Madoc and his colony must have been familiar. That exception is a view of the Falls of the Ohio as they existed in their primeval state, when Madoc and his Welsh colony are said by tradition to have been here in the Twelfth century. The picture was drawn by Thomas Hutchins while viewing the Falls in 1766, before the white man had felled a tree or in any way interfered with the work of nature. The picture drawn by Hutchins, who was a fine engineer and accomplished artist, shows well beside the Welsh pictures, and if it had had the advantage of a steel plate, as they have had, it would have equaled some of them as a striking landscape.

A picture might be drawn of the fleet of Prince Madoc leaving Wales, of the passing through the Sargasso sea, and of the landing in America, but it would only be a picture of imagination. So might an artist take from Southey's poem of Madoc fine word-pictures of the battles between Madoc's men and the Mexicans and convert them into descriptive pictures, but they would also be pictures which added the doubt of tradition to the illusion of the imagination. On the contrary, the pictures presented from Wales—the landscapes, the castles, the churches, the cathedrals, the abbeys, the cataracts, the villages, etc., are all realities drawn by the finest of artists and engraved on steel by eminent engravers. They are all worthy of artistic admiration, and we seem while looking at them to be viewing the originals from which they have been taken.

All that is known of Prince Madoc and his colony of Welshmen in America in the Twelfth century is tradition. No authentic history comes to our relief in telling or hearing the story. All that is claimed of the daring prince sailing across unknown seas and into an unknown world may be true and it may be false. But even when all is apparent tradition there may be some hidden truth worthy of our further research. The wise Humboldt, when alluding to the Madoc tradition, said "I do not share the scorn

with which national traditions are so often treated, and am of the opinion that with more research the discovery of facts entirely unknown would throw much light upon many historical problems."

Tradition, however, has but little to do with that part of the book under consideration which attempts to show that America was the first formed and the first inhabited of the continents. All that is claimed on this part of the subject is the result of scientific research. Tradition could not well go back to the rising of our globe above the universal ocean, because there was no one there to hand the matter down from father to son through the generations. But geology has examined the structure of the earth and found the first sedimentary rocks along the line which separates the United States from Canada, and claims that here was the first continent begun. There is no tradition in the facts of this, and none in the conclusion drawn from them. All is science, with facts gathered from the rock-ribbed globe and conclusions drawn from them.

Neither is the assertion that America was the first of the continents which was inhabited by man dependent upon tradition. Man could not well have started a tradition about the first of his race and sent it down his descending line through the centuries. He would have

had to employ some such machinery as the Greeks and Romans had in their numerous gods to account for his own origin. Immortals might give the information, but it would be beyond the scope of plain mortals. Again, science has taught us what we know about the subject. It has gathered facts from the bones and works of man found in the caverns and hidden places of the earth, and from these drawn conclusions as to where and when and how he first existed. Science may not be able to prove its conclusions to the satisfaction of others, but it would be equally hard to prove the contrary. It would be as difficult to prove any well-known tradition void of historic truth as to prove the nebulous origin of our solar system and the millions of years our planet has been in progression before reaching its present state, void of scientific determination. We should not aim to know too much and to know that all we know is truth. If tradition can amuse us without injury, if the doubtful story of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table can give us pleasure, it may be as well not to spend too much time in learning whether the story is true or false. There are many such stories that are just as good as if they were true, and let us have them as they are.

The story of Madoc I would give as I have given it in this monograph whether I believed it or not. It was



ST. ASAPH VILLAGE



ST. ASAPH CATHEDRAL



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believed by Kentuckians in pioneer times, and that is reason enough for repeating it in later times. It amused the patriarchs of our country and gave them many happy moments as it was told in their log cabins. And not only this, but it amused many of our cultured pioneers as they recited it and believed it. We put in books many things of the truth of which we know no more than we do about Madoc and his Welsh colony, and if the tradition is here repeated at this late day as an historic story it will do no harm.

R. T. DURRETT.

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TRADITIONS
OF THE
EARLIEST VISITS OF FOREIGNERS
TO
NORTH AMERICA
THE FIRST FORMED AND FIRST INHABITED
OF THE CONTINENTS

WHEN Kentucky was a part of Virginia there was a tradition widespread and generally believed that a Welsh prince by the name of Madoc planted a colony of his countrymen in America about the year 1170. This colony was believed to have been located for some time at the Falls of the Ohio, where, after it grew strong and became offensive to the more numerous aborigines, it was attacked by overwhelming numbers and nearly all the members slaughtered. Some remnants who escaped the tomahawk and scalping-knife were scattered among the different tribes, and absorbed by them. In this way, a race known as Welsh Indians came into existence in different parts of the country, and kept alive the tradition until a comparatively recent period, when a considerable body of them, located some sixteen hundred or more miles up the Missouri River, were exterminated by the smallpox. This wholesale

destruction by pestilence gradually diminished the generality of the belief in the tradition and deprived it of many of its advocates. The belief, however, did not entirely die, and will bear reviving even at this late date. It has never been fully written up in this country, and an historic sketch of it can hardly fail to be interesting. It is of kin to the pre-Columbian discoveries of America, of which quite a number have been credited and a still greater number rejected. Five of these seem to be sufficiently divested of myth and absurdity to approach historic truth, and may be mentioned here as a kind of introduction to the Welsh tradition which is the principal subject of this paper, because this Welsh colony, according to tradition, once resided at the Falls of the Ohio.

I. THE ATLANTIS TRADITION

Our first authority for the existence of America, and its habitation by human beings thousands of years before the discovery of Columbus, was Plato, the famous Grecian philosopher. He does not mention America and its inhabitants in so many words, but when he designates a large island called Atlantis in the Atlantic Ocean opposite the Pillars of Hercules, from which the inhabitants passed over to the continent beyond and vice versa,

the location of the continent is such that we can reasonably infer it was America, although it presupposes a knowledge of geography far in advance of the times. This was about twelve thousand years ago, when our orthodox teachers instructed us there were no human beings on the earth. Modern ethnologists, however, assure us that twelve thousand were far too few for the years of man upon the earth, and different ones give him an existence here of from twenty to two hundred thousand or more years. If man was in America twelve thousand years ago, as Plato says, he was earlier here than any of the many peoples from which his origin has been erroneously claimed, and was therefore the true autochthon of the land.

Plato, in his "Timæus" and "Critias," gives the Atlantis tradition as Solon, the wise man of Greece, learned it from the Egyptian priests, while visiting their country in search of knowledge during the later years of his life. These priests informed Solon that nine thousand years before that time there was a vast island opposite the Straits of Gibraltar, in the Atlantic Ocean, and a number of smaller islands near to it, by which there was communication with a continent beyond; that this great island had a dense population of warlike inhabitants, ruled by powerful kings, who had subdued some of the

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smaller islands and parts of the continent beyond; that these kings finally combined their forces for the purpose of conquering the countries inside the Straits of Gibraltar, but were repulsed by the Athenians, and that afterward the great island and all its inhabitants were submerged by earthquakes and inundations in the depths of the ocean.

This island was called Atlantis, and if there ever was such a body of land between Europe and America, it might have been easy enough for some of its inhabitants to have crossed over to America and for the Americans to have crossed over to Atlantis. There have not been wanting scientists who believed they had found, in the modern world, evidence of the existence of this island in the ancient world. On the southern coast of England strata of fluviatile deposit two hundred miles long and two thousand feet thick had been laid down there by a large river of fresh water running for a long time. The England of our day does not afford enough land for such a river, and even if England once joined France, as geologists teach, such a river running from France or Germany into England would hardly have had land enough for its course. If Plato's island, however, existed and joined the British Islands, it would have afforded territory for such a river running from the southwest. No

small river coursing through limited territory could form such a fluviatile deposit. Nothing short of a volume of water such as flows in the channel of the Amazon, the Mississippi, the Ganges, or the Nile could have made such great deposits in any conceivable length of time. Scientists, moreover, assure us that some of the islands now in the Atlantic Ocean, between America and Africa, indicate that they were once mountains or highlands of a country sunk beneath the sea, and that a ridge of volcanic wrecks along the trend of these islands, on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, assures us of a sunken continent or vast island submerged. An island, extending east and west from the neighborhood of the Straits of Gibraltar to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, with a sufficient width from north to south, would be large enough for the Atlantis of Plato and for such a mighty river, and to leave when submerged such remnants of its former greatness as the British Isles, the Azores, the Madeiras, the Canaries, and the Bermudas.

It was about three hundred and fifty years before the Christian era when the Egyptian priests told Solon that nine thousand years before that time the Atlantic island was sunk in the sea; so that from the date of that catastrophe to our times about twelve thousand years have elapsed. This was time sufficient to have so changed

the geography of the Atlantic Ocean and the surrounding continents as to make us moderns unable to determine whether such an island ever existed.

It may be wiser, however, to accept as founded in truth what the Egyptian priests told Solon about Atlantis than to dismiss it as a myth. They lived nearer the time of Atlantis than we do, and may have known more about it. They stated that they had records in their temples about the cataclysm which destroyed the island, and although nine thousand years seem a long time for such records, modern discoveries of human relics in buried cities of both hemispheres are yearly taking us back further and further toward this shadowy past. The way is yet long to the confines of this remote period, but while older and older records are constantly being found on the land, human relics amid seismic wrecks may also be lifted from the bottom of the sea, which will help to convince the incredulous that a vast island between Europe and America was once submerged with all its people, as stated by the Egyptian priests.

This account of Atlantis by Plato leaves undetermined whether America was originally peopled from Atlantis or whether Atlantis drew its primal inhabitants from America. It is as easy to assert or prove the one as the other; but as Plato has not specifically decided

the question, I shall not presume a decision. It is sufficient for my purpose that Plato says the Atlantians subdued parts of the continent which by its location must have been America, which they could not have done unless there had been continental inhabitants there to subdue. The Atlantians would hardly have peopled the neighboring continent for the sole purpose of its subjugation, and it can not be an unwarranted inference, therefore, that America was not indebted to Atlantis for its population.

II. THE PHOENICIAN TRADITION

Diodorus Siculus, who flourished three-quarters of a century before the Christian era, furnished a somewhat detailed account of a great island in the Atlantic Ocean west of Africa. In the second chapter of the fifth book of his "Historical Library" he says that opposite to Africa lies a very great island in the vast ocean, of many days' sail from Libia westward, which was unknown for a long time because of its remote situation; that it was finally discovered, accidentally, by some Phoenicians sailing along the west coast of Africa, who were prevented from landing and driven far to the west by violent storms; that they found a new country, rich in fauna and flora and in everything suitable to the wants of man; that

it was the intention of the Etrurians to plant colonies there, but they were prevented by the Carthaginians, who feared too many of their people might emigrate, and, besides, who wanted to preserve the new country for their own use as a place of refuge in case of trouble at home.

Now, if the Phoenicians in ancient times discovered a very great island west of Africa in the Atlantic Ocean, it could hardly have been one of the Azores, the Madeiras, the Canaries, or the Cape Verdes, because no one of these groups is large enough or distant enough from Africa to answer the description. It could not have been one of the British Islands, because they are specifically mentioned in the same history. Newfoundland was too far north and had too severe a climate and was not large enough for the description. It might have been the Atlantis of Plato before that island had gone to the bottom of the sea.

All of Plato's island, however, might not have gone down. Indeed, it is possible that the Azores, the Madeiras, the Canaries, and even the British Islands, as parts of the ill-fated island, may have been left above water when the main island went down amid earthquakes and inundations. Diodorus might have found his island in a combination of the unsubmerged remnants of Plato's great island which were afterward submerged, or the



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island indicated by him might have been America. He certainly could not have found such a country and such a people as he describes in America as it was at the time of Columbus. We must not forget, however, that there were people in America for many centuries before the Red Indians. We call some of them Mound-builders for want of a better name, and we know precious little about them. They left mounds of earth and implements of copper and vessels of pottery and other evidences of a civilization far above that of the Indians found here at the Columbian discovery of America. If a European had been in America some thousands of years ago and seen one of these old Mound-builders seated upon his mound smoking his pipe and giving orders to numerous subjects who were working his fields of maize and tobacco, cultivating his gardens and orchards, and having plenty of the fruits of the earth and the product of the fields around him, he might have seen something of the picture Diodorus drew for his island. These Mound-builders, however, passed away many centuries ago and left neither a history, a tradition, or a name. They may have been exterminated by immigrants from the east, who after a conquest established themselves as the modern Indians on a lower plane of civilization. The following is what Diodorus says of his island:

“The soil here is very fruitful, a great part whereof is mountainous, but much likewise champaign, which is the most sweet and pleasant part of all the rest; for it is watered with several navigable rivers, beautified with many gardens of pleasure, planted with divers sorts of trees, and abundance of orchards, interlaced with currents of sweet water. The towns are adorned with stately buildings, and banquetting houses up and down, pleasantly situated in their gardens and orchards. And here they recreate themselves in summer-time as in places accommodated for pleasure and delight.

“The mountainous part of the country is clothed with many large woods and all manner of fruit trees, and for the greater delight and diversion of people in these mountains they ever and anon open themselves into pleasant vales, watered with fountains and refreshing springs, and indeed the whole island abounds with springs of sweet water, whence the inhabitants not only reap pleasure and delight, but improve in health and strength of body.

“There you may have game enough in hunting all sorts of wild beasts, of which there is such plenty that in their feasts there is nothing wanting either as to pomp or delight. The adjoining sea furnished them plentifully with fish, for the ocean there naturally abounds with all sorts.

“The air and climate in this island is very mild and healthful, so that the trees bear fruit (and other things that are produced there are fresh and beautiful) most part of the year; so that this island (for the excellency of it in all respects) seems rather to be the residence of some of the gods than of man.”

In addition to this glowing description of the island, Diodorus expressly states that the Carthaginians permitted no colonies to be planted there, but reserved the island for their own habitation if political events should make it necessary for their abandoning their own home. If, therefore, the island of Diodorus was America, it was not indebted to the Etrurians, the Carthaginians, or any other ancient nation for its inhabitants. It was fully inhabited when discovered by the Phoenicians, and must have been inhabited for a long time to have enabled its people to have arrived at such a stage of civilization and luxury as is assigned to them.

III. THE CHINESE TRADITION

The third account we have of an early visit to America is that of a Buddhist priest from China, in the Fifth century of our era. When the religion of Buddha was introduced into China the Celestials became propagandists. Their missionaries went from land to land bearing

images of Buddha and preaching his doctrine for the conversion of souls. A monk by the name of Hwei Schin made a very long voyage and claimed to have reached what has been pronounced the American continent, in the year 499. He called the country Fusang, and it was claimed to have been explored probably as far south as Mexico. An account of his discoveries is recorded in the Year Books of China, and a translation of the important parts of the narrative is given in Leland's "Fusang, or the Discovery of America." There is no sufficient reason why Hwei Schin might not have made the journey to America at the close of the Fifth century. He could have gone from China to the Japanese Islands and thence sailed to the Kurile Islands, thence to the Aleutian Islands and thence to the continent of America, without being out of sight of land long enough to alarm any experienced or capable sailor. It is quite as likely, however, if there was a Mongolian discovery of America, that some of those Scythians who inhabited the northeast of Asia were the pioneers who led the way across Bering Strait and landed in America, as that another Mongolian from distant China made the discovery. The Scythians who dwelt in bleak Siberia went farther to make war upon distant countries than they would have to go to cross Bering Strait and become discoverers of

America. The resemblance of the American Indian to the Asiatic races is held by some to establish the theory that Mongolians did cross from the northeast of Asia to America, but would it not have been as easy for Americans to have crossed over to Asia as for Asiatics to have come to America? Either would have been possible, and one is as probable as the other. The Asiatic races could as satisfactorily be traced back to the Americans as the Americans to the Asiatics. Hœi Schin, however, if he was a discoverer of America, found America according to his own account already peopled, and by a people who must have been here for a long time.

IV. THE NORSE TRADITION

The next in age of the alleged pre-Columbian discoveries was by Norsemen at the close of the Tenth century or the beginning of the Eleventh. Iceland is claimed to have been visited by the Greek geographer Pytheas several centuries before the Christian era, but little was known of it until the Norwegians discovered it in 860. Whatever civilization has done for this cold and barren island, in fitting it for human habitation, it owes to the Norsemen, who founded there a republic in the year 874. It is claimed that Bjarne Herjulfson, while searching for his father, who in his absence had emigrated from Ice-

land to Greenland, was driven by contrary winds as far south as Nantucket, on the American shore, and in coasting northward in search of Greenland saw Newfoundland and Nova Scotia before he reached Greenland. The Norse discovery of the continent of America, however, is with better evidence attributed to Lief Erickson, in the year 1000. Nor is there sufficient reason why this discovery may not have been made by Lief as claimed. If Norwegian ships could sail from Norway to Iceland and from Iceland to Greenland, as they admittedly did, they could surely go from Greenland to America. The distance from Norway to Iceland is about seven hundred miles, that from Iceland to Greenland about three hundred miles, and that from Greenland to America about five hundred miles. The wonder would rather be that they did not discover America, after discovering Iceland and Greenland. They were great navigators, and made voyages to England, France, Italy, Greece, and other countries far more distant, and there can be no good reason why they should not have crossed the comparatively few miles of water between Greenland and America, as their sagas record they did. Their discovery, however, amounted to nothing so far as the planting of a permanent colony is concerned. Neither the round tower of Newport nor the hieroglyphic rock of Dighton, nor

the armored skeleton of Fall River, has taught us anything more than that if the Norsemen came, they also went. It would have been as easy for the aboriginal Americans to discover Greenland and Iceland and Norway as for the vikings of these countries to discover America. The same arguments which apply to the discovery of the one apply with equal force to the other. The Norsemen, moreover, fought battles with the natives, which show that America was already inhabited when they visited it.

V. THE IRISH TRADITION

Rasmus B. Anderson, in his book entitled "America Not Discovered by Columbus," published in 1877, besides giving a full account of the Norse discovery of America and partial accounts of other discoveries, also gives the substance of a saga which credits the Irish with a colony in America before 1029. They were found there by some Icelanders who had been to Ireland on a trading expedition, and were called Irish because "it rather appeared to them that they spoke Irish." This was putting the Irish speech of the colonists rather mildly, but the colonists themselves were not so mild when an Icelandic ship, in after years, landed among them. They seized and bound the captain and his crew, with the in-

hospitable intention of putting them all to death. When, however, they brought the prisoners before their chief, he released them and bade them get out of the country and never return. The chief who was thus merciful was a famous viking named Bjarni Asbrandon, who had been compelled to leave Iceland on account of his too free habits with married women. He was expatriated with the understanding that he was to be gone one year, but had never been heard of since his departure until this occasion, after thirty years had elapsed. He had in some way gotten into this Irish colony, south of the Norse settlement and supposed to be somewhere between Chesapeake Bay and Florida. It was known as Great Ireland or White Man's Land, and it is not impossible that the Irish should have discovered this part of the country. They were good navigators in the early centuries, and are known to have gone to the Faroe Islands and to Iceland. If they could get safely to Iceland and back again to Ireland they could certainly go to America. But the same argument applies to the Irish as to the other alleged discoverers of America. It would have been as easy for the Americans to discover Ireland by way of Iceland and the Faroe Islands as for the Irish to discover America by the same route. When the Irish colonized or discovered land in America they were taken



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prisoners by the Americans, and when they were released (instead of being put to death) they proceeded to depopulate America, so far as they were concerned, by going back to Ireland, instead of helping to people it. America was not, therefore, indebted to Ireland for her population.

VI. THE MADOC TRADITION

And now, having presented five of the principal traditions of pre-Columbian discoveries in America, all of which occurred before the close of the Eleventh century of the Christian era, I shall take up that of the Welsh in the Twelfth century. This was one of the most popular of these traditions, especially in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. It was not only believed by the common people, but got into the newspapers and magazines and books, and was credited by the learned as well as by the ignorant. There were a few Welshmen among the pioneers, and they took pride in making the Welsh tradition as popular as possible. There was scarcely a log cabin in which the subject was not discussed by the family, and in the stations where families were numerous it furnished the material for many stories which were told to eager listeners. Madoc was the hero of the hour. His leaving Wales with ships loaded with his country-

men, and sailing across an unknown sea to inhabit an unknown land to avoid civil war with his brothers for the crown of his father, was an act of self-sacrifice which they deemed worthy of universal admiration. They were not sure at what point he landed in America, but they were sure that he did land and that his descendants once dwelt at the Falls of the Ohio, from which they were driven by a force too powerful to resist. They believed that the mounds and earthworks in the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys had been built by the Welsh for purposes not fully understood by moderns, but nevertheless erected by them for purposes of their own. They believed that those strange tombs made by encasing dead bodies between six flat stones forming the sides and ends and top and bottom of rough sarcophagi and placing them side by side and piling them one upon another, until a kind of pyramid was constructed holding a great number of their dead, were made by the Welsh. If they had any doubt about the Madoc colony, all doubts were removed by an occasional Welsh Indian coming among them from a distant tribe, for the purpose of trade, and talking to Welshmen among the pioneers in their own language.

I propose now to present what I have been able to learn concerning this Welsh tradition, both in Europe

and America. I shall quote from the authorities so as to make somewhat of a documentary narrative, and thus place the authorities within reach of the general reader, which is not possible while they are scattered through rare manuscripts and prints both in this country and in Europe. With these rare documents before them all can judge for themselves as to the reliability of the Madoc tradition.

VII. THE MADOC TRADITION IN EUROPE

The first account of the migration of Prince Madoc to unknown lands was printed in the voyages of Hakluyt, first published in London in 1582. Hakluyt took it from the writings of Gutton Owen, a Welsh bard who flourished in the latter part of the Fourteenth and early part of the Fifteenth century, and who in turn had copied it from the records of the abbeys of Conway in North Wales and Strata Florida in South Wales. It was the custom of the Welsh at that time to record important events in their abbeys, as the Egyptians did in their temples. The bards, who were the historians of the times, had free access to these abbeys and copied the records and repeated or sang them on public occasions. Gutton Owen was a well-known bard, and of sufficient standing for King Henry VII to appoint him one of a com-

mission to search the records of Wales for the genealogy of Owen Tudor, his grandfather. Hence Hakluyt gives him as authority for the Madoc tradition. This tradition appears in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America, etc.," first published in 1582, as follows:

The Madoc Tradition from Hakluyt's Voyages—

Volume 3, Page 1

"After the death of Owen Gwynedd, his sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him, for the eldest sonne born in Matrimony Edward or Jorwerth Drwidion (Drwyndwn) was counted unmeet to govern because of the maim upon his face, and Howel that took upon him the rule, was a base sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore, David, another Sonne, gathered all the power he could and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him and afterwards enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales until his brother Jorwerth's Sonne came to age.

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's Sonnes, left the land in contentions betwixt his brethren and prepared certain ships with men and munition and sought adventures by seas, sailing west and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

“This land must needs be some parts of the Country, of which the Spanyards affirm themselves to be the first Finders since Hanno’s Time; whereupon it is manifest that that country was by Britons discovered long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

“Of the voyage and return of this Madoc, there be many fables framed, as the common people do use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish, but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries, that he had seen without inhabitants; and upon the contrary, for what barren and wild ground his brothers and nephews did murther one another, he prepared a number of ships and got with him such Men and Women as were desirous to live in quietness, and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

“Therefore, it is supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countries, for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Comara that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honoured the Cross. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spanyards but because this people were not many, they followed the manner of the land which they came to, and the language they found there.

"This Madoc arriving in that western country, unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends to inhabit that fair land and large country, went thither again with Ten Sailles, as I find noted by Gutton Owen. I am of the opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies."

This Madoc tradition next appears in the history of Wales by Caradoc, translated into English by Llwyd and published by Powell in 1584. It does not, however, appear in the original work of Caradoc, whose history only comes down to the year 1157. Llwyd, the translator, added to the original text of Caradoc the Madoc tradition, which he got from the abbeys of Conway and Strata Florida, as Owen had gotten what was published by Hakluyt. The source of the tradition is therefore the same in both Hakluyt and Powell and the facts substantially the same. The following is the Welsh tradition as given in the new edition (London, 1812) of Powell's Caradoc, pages 194-196:

The Madoc Tradition in Welsh History

"Prince Owen Gwynedd being dead the succession was of right to descend to his eldest legitimate son, Iorwerth Drwydwn, otherwise called Edward with the Bro-

ken Nose; but by reason of that blemish upon his face, he was laid aside as unfit to take upon him the government of North Wales. Therefore his younger brothers began every one to aspire, in hopes of succeeding their father; but Howel, who was of all the eldest, but base born begotten of an Irish woman, finding they could not agree, stept in himself and took upon him the government. But David, who was legitimately born could not brook that a bastard should ascend his father's throne, and therefore he made all the preparations possible to pull him down. Howel, on the other hand, was as resolute to maintain his ground, and was not willing so quickly to deliver up, what he had not very long got possession of; and so both brothers meeting together in the field, were resolved to try their title by the point of the sword. The battle had not lasted long, but Howel was slain; and then David was unanimously proclaimed and saluted Prince of North Wales, which principality he enjoyed without any molestation, till Llewlyn, Iorwerth Drwynden's son came of age, as will hereafter appear. But Madoc, another of Owen Gwynedd's sons, finding how his brothers contended for the principality, and that his native country was like to be turmoiled in a civil war, did think it his better prudence to try his fortune abroad; and therefore leaving North Wales in a very unsettled

condition, sailed with a small fleet of ships which he had rigged and manned for that purpose, to the westward; and leaving Ireland on the north, he came at length to an unknown country, where most things appeared to him new and uncustomary, and the manner of the natives far different from what he had seen in Europe. This country, says the learned H. Llyod, must of necessity be some part of that vast tract of ground, of which the Spaniards, since Hanno's time, boast themselves to be the first discoverers, and which by order of Cosmography, seems to be some part of Nova Hispania, or Florida; where by it is manifested, that this country was discovered by the Britains, long before either Columbus or Americus Vesputius sailed thither. But concerning Madoc's voyage to this country, and afterwards his return from thence, there are many fabulous stories and idle tales invented by the vulgar, who are sure never to diminish from what they hear, but will add to and increase any fable as far as their invention will prompt them. However, says the same author, it is certain that Madoc arrived in this country, and after he had viewed the fertility and pleasantness of it, he thought it expedient to invite more of his countrymen out of Britain; and therefore leaving most of those he had brought with him already behind, he returned for Wales. Being arrived there,



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he began to acquaint his friends with what a fair and extensive land he had met with, void of any inhabitants, whilst they employed all their skill to supplant one another, only for a ragged portion of rocks and mountains; and therefore he would persuade them to change their present state of danger and continual clashings for a more quiet being of ease and enjoyment. And so having got a considerable number of Welsh together, he bid adieu to his native country, and sailed with ten ships back to them he had left behind. It is therefore to be supposed, says our author, that Madoc and his people inhabited part of that country, since called Florida by reason that it appears from Francis Loves, an author of no small reputation, that in Acusanus and other places, the people honoured and worshipped the cross; whence it may be naturally concluded that christians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards; and who these christians might be, unless it were this colony of Madoc's, it cannot be easily imagined. But by reason that the Welsh who came over, were not many, they intermixed in a few years with the natives of the country and so following their manners and using their language, they became at length undistinguishable from the barbarians. But the country which Madoc landed in, is by the learned Dr. Powell supposed to be part of Mexico for

which conjecture he lays down these following reasons:— first as it is recorded in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies the inhabitants and natives of that country affirm by tradition, that their rulers descended from a strange nation, which came thither from a strange country; as it was confessed by King Montezuma, in a speech at his submission to the King of Castile, before Hernando Cortez, the Spanish general. And then the British words and names of places used in that country, even at this day do undoubtedly argue the same; as when they speak and confabulate together, they use this British word, Gwarando, which signifies to hearken, or listen, and a certain bird with a white head, they call Pengwyn, which signifies the same in Welsh. But for a more complete confirmation of this, the island of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor, and the white rock of Pengwyn, which are all British words, do manifestly shew, that it was that country which Madoc and his people inhabited.”

The closing paragraph of the preface to Doctor Powell's *Caradoc* (new edition, London, 1812) explains how the Madoc tradition got into the work of *Caradoc* after his death. *Caradoc's* history ends with the year 1157, and Llyod undertook to make such additions as would bring it down to 1270 and then publish the whole in an

English translation. Among the additions was the Madoc tradition obtained from the Welsh abbeys through Gutton Owen. Death, however, overtook Llyod before he could publish his work, and Doctor Powell becoming possessed of his manuscript published it with his own edition in 1584.

In the foregoing extracts from Hakluyt and Powell, which contain the earliest information outside of the Welsh abbeys on the subject, nothing appears to determine the country to which Madoc went. He is simply represented as leaving Ireland to the north and sailing west until he reached a satisfactory country; then returning to Wales for recruits and sailing back to where he had landed on the first voyage. What is said by Hakluyt about the West Indies being the Madoc land and by Powell about Florida and Mexico being the place, was simply their opinion after the discovery of Columbus. We now know that if Madoc had continued to sail westward and did not come in contact with an intervening island he would have been bound to reach some part of America, but neither Madoc nor his contemporaries knew this, from the fact that America was then unknown. These two extracts, short and wanting in detail as they are, form the historic basis upon which the whole fabric of the tale of the Welsh discovery in the Twelfth

century rests. Corroborative evidence had to come from America. But for this American evidence it may be doubted whether the Madoc tradition would ever have gotten beyond a limited circle in the mountains of Wales. Giraldus, a Welsh author who wrote at the time of the Madoc expedition, does not mention it, and but for the rolls of the Welsh abbeys it is possible that the record of the event would have perished at that time. The American authorities have given it color and shape and strength, and I now propose to present such of them as I have been able to collect. As far as possible they will be given in their order of time, and extracts made from them for the benefit of those who may not have access to the originals.

VIII. THE MADOC TRADITION IN AMERICA

Captain John Smith, the first historian of Virginia, is entitled to whatever honor may belong to the first record of the Madoc tradition in America. At the beginning of an enumeration of the discoveries of America in his history, after simply naming the stories of Arthur, Malgo, Brandon, etc., as something he knew nothing about and doubtless cared less, he gives the Madoc tradition from the Welsh Chronicles as the only discovery before that of Columbus. It will be found at the begin-

ning of his enumeration, in his "Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles," published at London in 1624, page 1. It is as follows:

"The Chronicles of Wales report, that Madock, fonne to Owen Quineth, Prince of Wales, feeling his two brethren at debate who should inherit prepared certaine Ships, with men and munition; and left his Country to feeke adventures by Sea; leaving Ireland north he fayled weft till he came to a land unknowne. Returning home and relating what pleafant and fruitful countries he had feen without inhabitants and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murther one another, he provided a number of Ships, and got with him fuch men and women as were defirous to live in quietneffe that arrived with him in this new land in the yeare 1170; Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no Hiftory can fhew."

The best American evidence corroborative of this tradition, however, begins with a statement made by the Reverend Morgan Jones in 1685. Parson Jones was a resident of Virginia in 1660, and was sent by Governor Berkeley as chaplain of an expedition to South Carolina. Afterward, while residing in New York, he made the following written statement and delivered it to Doctor Thomas Llwyd of Pennsylvania, from whom, after

passing through the hands of several other respectable persons, it reached the Reverend Theophilus Evans, who had it published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," in London, in 1740, page 103. Parson Jones' statement is as follows:

"These presents may certify all persons whatever, that in the year 1660 being an inhabitant of Virginia, and Chaplain to Major General Bennet of Mansoman county, the said Major Bennet and Sir William Berkeley sent two ships to Port Royal, now called South Carolina, which is sixty leagues to the southward of Cape Fair, and I was sent therewith to be their minister. Upon the 8th of April we set out from Virginia, and arrived at the Harbour's Mouth of Port Royal the 19th of the same month, where we waited for the rest of the Fleet that was to sail from Barbadoes and Bermuda with one Mr. West, who was to be Deputy Governor of the said Place. As soon as the Fleet came in, the smallest vessels that were with us sailed up the river to a place called the Oyster Point. There I continued about 8 months, all which time being most starved for want of provisions, I and five more travelled through the Wilderness, till we came to the Tuscorara Country. There the Tuscorara Indians took us prisoners, because we told them we were bound for Roanoke. That night they carried

us to their town, and shut us up close to our no small dread. The next day they entered into a consultation about us, which after it was over their interpreter told us that we must prepare ourselves to die next morning. Thereupon being very much dejected and speaking to this effect in the British tongue 'Have I escaped so many dangers and must I now be knocked on the head like a Dog,' then presently an Indian came to me, which afterwards appeared to be a War Captain belonging to the Sachem of the Doegs (whose original I find needs be from the Old Britons) and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British tongue I should not die, and thereupon went to the Emperor of Tuscorara and agreed for my ransom, and the men that were with me. They then welcomed us to their town, and entertained us very civilly and cordially four months, during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British language, and did preach to them three times a week in the same language, and they would confer with me about anything that was difficult therein; and at our departure they abundantly supplied us with whatever was necessary to our support and well-doing. They are settled upon Pontiago River, not far from Cape Atros. This is a brief recital of my travels, among the Doeg Indians, Morgan Jones, the son of John Jones, of Basaleg,

near Newport, in the county of Monmouth, I am ready to conduct any Welshmen, or others to the country.

New York, March 10th, 1685-6."

Geography was not as well understood at the date of this statement by Parson Jones as it is at the present, and as it was published fifty-five years after it was written, and probably without proof-sheets being seen by the author, it was to be expected that it would contain errors, especially in the names of persons and places. He doubtless meant for Mansoman the county of Nansemond, in southeast Virginia; for Cape Fair, Cape Fear; for Pontiago River, Pamlico River; and for Cape Atros, Cape Hatteras. The important word, however, in the statement is Doeg, the name by which he designates the tribe of Indians who spoke Welsh. I know of but one tribe of Indians that bore the name of Doeg. They were located in Maryland, in what is now Prince George County, and entered into a treaty with Lord Baltimore in 1666. They might easily enough, with the proclivity of their race, have wandered from Maryland through Virginia to North Carolina or vice versa. If they were originally called Madocs, after the Welsh prince, the length of time between the coming of the Welsh to America and the date of the Baltimore treaty, or the Jones narrative, would be sufficient to account for the change in name.



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But if this statement of Parson Jones be true, it would be difficult to account for this tribe of Indians in North Carolina in 1660, speaking the Welsh language, upon any hypothesis more reasonable than that of their being descendants of the Madoc colony. Parson Jones did not seem to know anything about Madoc, or at most said nothing about him. He does say, however, that he lived for four months among Indians who called themselves Doegs; that he conversed with them, and that he preached to them in the Welsh language, which they understood, and that they were located on Pamlico River at no great distance from Cape Hatteras in North Carolina. It is a great pity that he did not give a description of the persons and habits of these Indians and record their traditions, if any they had, of their origin, et cetera. If they had only stated why they were called Doegs, they might have furnished a key to unlock the mystery of their origin; for the taking of names is an important act among Indians, and never occurs without a meaning. It has been suggested that the Delawares were meant by the Doegs, but this takes us no nearer to Madoc. Different writers have thought that the Pawnees and the Padoucas and the Mandans were descended from the Madoc colony, but none of these Indians could ever give such an account of their origin as to point to any certain line of descent.

In 1770 was published in Philadelphia a work entitled "Materials towards a History of the American Baptists," by Morgan Edwards. In appendix number eight to this work appears the following letter, dated March 1, 1733, and addressed to the British Missionary Society in London:

"It is not unknown to you that Madoc Gwynedd, a prince of Wales, did about 500 years ago, sail to the westward with several ships and a great number of his subjects; and was never heard of after. Some relics of the Welsh tongue being found in old and deserted settlements about the Mississippi make it probable that he sailed up that river. And we, being moved with brotherly love to our countrymen are meditating to go in search of them, but are discouraged by the distance of the place and uncertainty of the course we should steer. If you can give us any information and direction together with some help to bear the expense we shall find men adventurous enough to undertake the expedition having no other end in view than to carry the gospel of peace among our ancient brethren; and believing it will be to the enlargement of the British empire in America and a proof of prior right to the whole continent should we happily succeed.

"We remain, gentlemen, your loving countrymen,

John Davis	Nathaniel Jenkins
David Evans	Benj. Griffiths
Rynalt Howel	Joseph Eaton."

Now here are half-a-dozen gentlemen in Philadelphia who have faith enough in the Madoc tradition to offer to search for any remnant that may remain of the Welsh colony, provided the necessary money can be raised to pay the expense of the expedition. These gentlemen make no allusion to the statement of Reverend Morgan Jones, which they possibly had not seen, but simply rely upon the tradition which was prevalent concerning Madoc. If a claim to the country by discovery were a part of their object, as they suggest, it would have been difficult, even if they had found the Madoc colony, to have set up a valid claim founded on the right of discovery. As the French held the country when this search was proposed, it would have been quite a serious undertaking to have driven them out, for Wales or any other country.

Captain Isaac Stewart, an officer of the Provincial Cavalry of South Carolina, in 1782, made the following statement, which was published in the second volume of the "American Museum" for July, 1787, page 92:

"I was taken prisoner about 50 miles to the westward of Fort Pitt, about 18 years ago, by the Indians, and was carried by them to the Wabash with many more white men, who were executed with circumstances of horrid barbarity; it was my good fortune to call forth

the sympathy of what is called the good woman of the town who was permitted to redeem me from the flames, by giving, as my ransom, a horse.

“After remaining two years in bondage amongst the Indians, a Spaniard came to the nation, having been sent from Mexico on discoveries. He made application to the chiefs, for redeeming me and another white man in the like situation, a native of Wales, named John Davy, which they complied with, and we took our departure in company with the Spaniard, and travelled to the westward, crossing the Mississippi near the River Rouge, or Red River, up which we travelled 700 miles, when we came to a nation of Indians, remarkably white and whose hair was of a reddish color, at least mostly so; they lived on the banks of a small river that empties itself into Red River, which is called the River Post. In the morning of the day after our arrival among these Indians, the Welshman informed me that he was determined to remain with them, giving as a reason that he understood their language, it being very little different from the Welsh. My curiosity was excited very much by this information, and I went with my companion to the chief men of the town, who informed him (in a language I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity to that of any other Indian tongue I ever heard) that their forefathers

of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi describing particularly the country now called, West Florida, and that on the Spaniards taking possession of Mexico, they fled to their then abode, and as proof of the truth of what he advanced, he brought forth roles of parchment which were carefully tied up in otter skins, on which were large characters, written with blue ink, the characters I did not understand and the Welshman being unacquainted with letters, even of his own language, I was not able to know the meaning of the writing. They are a bold, hardy intrepid people, very warlike, and the women beautiful when compared with other Indians."

The Spaniards had recently come into possession of the country west of the Mississippi by cession from France, and it was natural enough that they should have explorers in the field examining it. Captain Stewart and his Spanish companion went a long way south before crossing the Mississippi into this territory, but that seeming wandering may have been a part of their explorations. They crossed the Mississippi at Red River and went up this stream toward its source in Northwestern Texas. Here they found Indians who were white, and talked Welsh. This was in the region of the Padoucah tribe of reputed White Indians, on the Rio Del Norte, who,

according to General Bowles, an intelligent Irishman living among the Cherokees, spoke Welsh. Captain Stewart's geography, like that of all early explorers, was not very accurate, but it could hardly have been otherwise when there was no one to teach geography and make reliable maps, as in later times.

In 1796, Reverend John Williams, LL. D., published in London a book entitled "An Inquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Madog." This book abounds in valuable information on the subject of the Madoc colony in America, and from it the following extracts, beginning at page 41, are taken:

"Mr. Chas. Beatty, a Missionary from New York, accompanied by a Mr. Duffield, visited some inland parts of North America in the year 1766. If I rightly understood his journal, he travelled about 400, or 500 miles to the southeast of New York. During his Tour he met with several persons who had been among the Indians from their youth, or who had been taken captives by them, and lived with them several years. Among others one Benjamin Sutton, who had visited different Nations, and had lived many years with them. His account, in Mr. Beatty's words, was as follows:

"He (Benjamin Sutton) informed us, when he was with the Chactaw Nation, or tribe of Indians at the Mis-

Mississippi, he went to an Indian town a very considerable distance from New Orleans, whose inhabitants were of a different complexion; not so tawny as those of other Indians, and who spoke Welsh. He said he saw a book among them, which he supposed was a Welsh Bible, which they kept carefully wrapped up in a skin, but they could not read it; and that he heard some of the Indians afterwards in the lower Shawanaugh Town speak Welsh with one Lewis a Welshman, captive there. This Welsh tribe now live on the West side of the Mississippi River, a great way above New Orleans.

“Levi Hicks, as being among the Indians from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an Embassy in a town of Indians, on the west side of the Mississippi River, who talked Welsh (as he was told, for he did not understand them) and our interpreter Joseph saw some Indians whom he supposed to be of the same Tribe, who talked Welsh, for he told us some of the words they said, which he knew to be Welsh, as he had been acquainted with some Welsh people.”

Following the preceding extract in the book of Mr. Williams is a lengthy account of a minister of the gospel who was captured by the Indians in Virginia and condemned to death. Just before he was to be executed—whether by fire or some other torture is not stated

—he fell upon his knees and prayed aloud in the Welsh language. His executioners understood his words, had his death sentence set aside, and restored him to liberty. No name or date is given, but the facts stated are so nearly identical with those in the narrative of the Reverend Morgan Jones that there can be no doubt about his being the minister referred to. The narrative of Mr. Jones has been previously given in this article, and need not be repeated here. These two accounts of the same event, related so distantly apart in both space and time, indicate how widely spread the Madoc tradition was in America. It does not appear that Mr. Sutton had ever seen the Jones narrative, and yet more than one hundred years afterward, and more than one thousand miles distant in the wild West, he substantially repeated from tradition facts set forth in the Jones narrative. Such coincident narratives indicate that this tradition was known all over both savage and civilized America.

“Sutton further informed us that in the Delaware tribe of Indians he observed their women to follow exactly the custom of the Jewish women, in keeping separate from the rest seven days at certain times prescribed in the Mosaic law; that from some old men among them he had heard the following Traditions: That of old time their people were divided by a river, and one part tar-



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rying behind, that they knew not for certainty how they first came to this continent, but account for their coming into these parts, near where they are now settled. That a King of their nation where they formerly lived far to the west, left his Kingdom to his two sons that the one son making war upon the other, the latter thereupon determined to depart and seek some new Habitation; that accordingly he set out accompanied by a number of his people, and that after wandering to and fro for the space of 40 years, they at length came to Delaware River, where they settled 370 years ago. The way, he says, they keep account of this, is by putting on a black bead of Wampum every year since on a Belt they have for that purpose."

This tradition is evidently a distorted and confused version of the original account of the Madoc narrative as related Hakluyt's Voyages and Powell's Caradoc. After passing through Indian tribes for centuries we could hardly expect it to show less changes than it exhibits, and yet through all the changes the original is plainly seen. Madoc is the dissatisfied son who wanders for forty years, and thus confounds the narrative with the Israelites in the journey to Palestine through the Red Sea and the Wilderness. If there were truth in this Indian version of the tradition, we should be much

obliged for being informed that Madoc and his colony landed on the Delaware River three hundred and seventy years ago.

In this learned work of Mr. Williams, the testimony of numerous persons who had been among the Welsh Indians in America is given in the shape of letters and statements. It also contains a vast number of authorities on the subject which were accessible to the author at the time it was published. It is in fact an exhaustive work on the subject.

Following this work of Mr. Williams was a small volume entitled "The Welsh Indians, or a Collection of Papers respecting Prince Madoc, by George Burder, London, 1797." It contains much of the same matter as the work of Mr. Williams, but has some articles not in the Williams work. It can not be said, however, to add many material facts to the story as already told, but only adds cumulative evidence. The following article is copied from Mr. Burder's work, page 7, because it gives something of the history of the Madoc family:

"Owain, Prince of Gwynez, who died in the year 1169 had nineteen children, the names of the Sons were Rhodri, Cynoric, Riryd, Meredyz, Edwal, Cynan, Rien, Maelgon, Lywelyn, Iorwerth, Davyz, Cadwallon, Hywell, Ca-

dell, Madoc, Einion, and Phylip; of these Rhodri, Hywell, Davyz and Madoc were the most distinguished. Hywell was a fine poet as appears by his composition; of which eight are preferred. His mother was a native of Ireland, and though not born in wedlock, he was the first who aspired to the crown after the death of Owain, which event no sooner took place but his brother Davyz became his competitor, under the sanction of a legitimate birth. The consequence was, the country became embroiled in a civil war.

“Influenced by disgust at the unnatural dissensions among his brothers Madoc, who is represented of a very mild disposition, resolved upon the matchless enterprise of exploring the ocean westward, in search of more tranquil scenes. The event was, according to various old documents, the discovering of a new world, from which he effected his return to inform his country of his good fortune. The consequence of which was the fitting out of a second expedition, and Madoc with his brother Riryd, Lord of Clocran, in Ireland, prevailed upon so many to accompany them as to fill seven ships and sailing from the Isle of Lundy, they took an eternal leave of Wales. There is a large book of pedigrees still extant, written by Jean Brecva who flourished in the age preceding the time of Columbus. Madoc and Riryd found land far in

the fea of the weft and there they fettled. Lywarc, the fon of Lywelyn, feems to have compofed two of his poems in the time between the firft and the fecond of the two voyages of Madoc. One of thefe pieces muft be confidered of great importance and curiofity; it is an invocation, as if he were undergoing the fiery ordeal, to exonerate himfelf from having any knowledge of the fate of Madoc; the fecond, being a panegyric upon Rhodri another brother, has a remarkable allufion to the fame event. It is thus translated:

“Two princes, of ftrong paffion, broke off in wrath, beloved by the multitude of the earth. One on land, in Arvon, allaying of ambition, and another, a placid one, on the bofom of the vaft ocean, in great and immeafurable trouble prowling after a profeffion easy to be guarded, efranged from all for a country.”

In 1857, George Catlin published in Philadelphia two volumes entitled “Letters and Notes on the Manners of the North American Indians.” Mr. Catlin lived for some time among the Mandan Indians and studied their history and peculiarities. In the appendix to his work, volume 2, page 777, he expressed the opinion that the Mandans were descendants of the Welsh colony established in America by Prince Madoc in the Twelfth century. In support of the theory he described some of

their peculiarities, and gave a list of words which resembled each other and had a similar meaning both in the Mandan and Welsh. He related also the destruction of the entire tribe by the smallpox, introduced among them by British traders, so that if this Welsh colony, unlike other early discoverers of America, helped to populate the country, they also perished by one of the epidemics of the new land. The country, however, was already inhabited and in no need of any immigrants from a foreign land to give it population when the Welsh colony appeared. What Mr. Catlin said on the subject will be found in the appendix to this monograph.

In the "Popular History of the United States," by Bryant and Gay, published in London in 1876, a considerable portion of the fourth chapter of the first volume is devoted to the Madoc tradition. Other articles from books, magazines, and papers on this subject might here be added, but they would contribute no important fact to the story as already told. They would simply be presentations in different forms of what has already been stated. What appears in Bryant and Gay's history will be found in the appendix to this monograph, as will other articles which would overload the text.

IX. THE MADOC TRADITION IN KENTUCKY

There is, however, in the State of Kentucky, considerable matter relating to the Madoc tradition which will not be found elsewhere and belongs to this country alone. This tradition was especially popular in Kentucky, where the Welsh Indians were believed to have dwelt in early times and where they were finally exterminated at the Falls of the Ohio by the Red Indians. The Kentucky pioneers were full believers in this tradition, and in the family circle, by the warmth and light of the huge log fires of the cabins, the story of Prince Madoc was told on long winter nights to eager listeners who never wearied of it. I now propose to present not only what appears in the Kentucky newspapers, magazines, and books, but also some of the traditions which have never before been published.

John Filson, the author of the first History of Kentucky, published at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784, was a native of Pennsylvania, where the Madoc tradition was well known. He was also the first one in Kentucky to take the tradition from the oral sphere in which it circulated and dignify it with a place in history. He was a believer in the tradition, and employed the opportunities which he had among the pioneers to talk about it

and gather facts concerning it from those who had met Indians in different places who spoke the Welsh or ancient British language. These Welsh Indians sometimes came among the Kentucky pioneers for the purpose of trade, and although Filson may never have met any of them himself, he took care to learn all he could from those who had seen and talked with them. He came to Kentucky early in the pioneer period, perhaps in 1782, and employed his time in hunting up information for a history of "Kentucke," as the new country was then spelled. He was a very busy man in collecting facts, and so persistent in his work that he was sometimes annoying to the settlers, who were more interested in locating lands, fighting Indians, and killing game than they were in historical matter. He was upon the best of terms with such pioneers as Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, James Harrod, Christopher Greenup, John Cowan, and William Kennedy, all of whom he mentions in his history and records his obligations to them for the help they gave him in compiling it. He also published in his history the indorsement of Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, and James Harrod, among the most prominent of the pioneers, that it was a valuable history, presenting a true account of the country. His opportunities were the best to learn what was known and

believed about the Madoc tradition, and hence he recorded in his history that it was universally known and believed.

When Filson had gotten well under way with his "History of Kentucke" he made a visit to Louisville for the purpose of collecting information about the Welsh Indians, who it was believed once resided at the Falls of the Ohio. There was then a club in Louisville made up of such prominent citizens as General George Rogers Clark, Colonel James F. Moore, William Johnston, Doctor Alexander Skinner, Captain James Patten, Major John Harrison, John Sanders, and others. The club sometimes met in the quarters of General Clark, in the fort at the Falls of the Ohio, and sometimes at the "Keep" of John Sanders, near the northeast corner of the present Main and Third streets. The main object of the club was to secure the earliest information about the Indians and the progress of the Revolutionary War. When on the eve of one of its meetings it was learned that Captain Abraham Chaplain was the guest of General Clark, and that John Filson the historian was stopping with Captain James Patten for the purpose of securing information about the Madoc colony, it was decided to invite them to the club meeting, which on this occasion was to be held in the "Keep" of John Sanders. This "Keep,"



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as it was called, was a large flatboat which had been converted by Sanders into a warehouse, in which he received the peltry of the country and gave receipts therefor, which were to be paid when the articles were sold. These receipts passed by delivery and circulated as money. They were therefore popular in the country, and the warehouse of Sanders, which he called his "Keep," was a kind of bank which was very useful.

When the members of the club and their guests had assembled and the news pertaining to the war and the Indians had been received and discussed, it was resolved that each person present, who might feel so inclined, should have the opportunity to state what he knew concerning the Madoc tradition, for the benefit of the historian who was their guest. There was in the statements made at this meeting, as in previous narratives made by others, some little confusion on account of the use of the names White Indians and Welsh Indians. They probably both meant the same thing in the use made of them by the early settlers of the country. From James Harrison, a son of Major John Harrison, one of the speakers, the following account of the proceeding was obtained:

General Clark spoke first, and confined himself to what he had learned from a chief of the Kaskaskia Indians concerning a large and curiously shaped earthwork

on the Kaskaskia River, which the chief, who was of lighter complexion than most Indians, said was the house of his ancestors. Colonel Moore spoke next, and related what he had learned from an old Indian about a long war of extermination between the Red Indians and the White Indians. The final battle, he said, between them was fought at the Falls of the Ohio, where nearly the whole of the White Indians were driven upon an island and slaughtered. General Clark, on hearing this statement by Colonel Moore, confirmed it by stating that he had heard the same thing from Tobacco, a chief of the Piankeshaws. Major Harrison next spoke, and told about an extensive graveyard on the north side of the Ohio, opposite the Falls, where thousands of human bones were buried in such confusion as to indicate that the dead were left there after a battle, and that the silt from inundations of the Ohio had covered them as the battle had left them. Sanders spoke next and said that in his intercourse with different tribes of Indians he had met several of light complexion, gray eyes, and sandy hair, but had never talked with them in the Welsh language, if they spoke it, because he did not understand it himself. The last White Indian he ever saw was in a hunt on the Wabash River. A White Indian had joined a party of Red Indians, as Sanders had, for a hunt. While sep-

arated from the rest of the party the White Indian had come upon a panther and wounded it. The infuriated animal turned upon him and literally tore him to pieces before any assistance could reach him. Doctor Skinner came next, and called attention to the large mound at the northeast corner of Main and Fifth streets in Louisville, and the larger one on the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. He said that the Red Indians never made mounds of this kind, and if they were artificial, as he believed they were, they might have been erected by the Welsh or White Indians for some purpose unknown to the people of this age. He had heard that there were Welsh Indians in this country long ago, but he had never seen one.

The guests were then called upon for any remarks they wished to make upon the subject. Captain Chaplain said he was familiar with most of the traditions that had been related by the speakers before him and could testify as to their popularity, but as he was not in the habit of speaking he hoped he would be allowed to remain a listener. He was excused and Filson was the last to speak. His speech was longer than all the others put together. He began with the Madoc tradition, at the death of the king of North Wales, and gave details of the civil war between the sons of the king for the suc-

cession; of the determination of Madoc, one of the sons, to get out of the country and escape the horrors of a civil war, and of his securing and preparing ships to take him and his friends to some foreign land. He went so much into detail and consumed so much time that he never got his emigrants beyond the shores of Wales, where he had them in ships and about to sail, when he discovered that his hearers were paying no attention, and all of them except Doctor Skinner seemed to be asleep. He sat down and spoke of his mortification to Doctor Skinner, who consoled him with the remark that his hearers might not be asleep, but spellbound by his eloquence.

Filson, in his "History of Kentucke," gave a lengthy and kindly account of the Indians, but they were not kind to him in turn. While he was going through the woods from the Miami River to where Cincinnati now stands, to establish a city by the name of Losantiville, he disappeared and was never heard of more. None of his remains were ever found, and he was supposed to have been murdered by the Indians. In his account of the Indians in his "History of Kentucke," original edition of 1784, the following concerning the Madoc tradition appears on pages 95 and 96:

"In the year 1170 Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, prince of Wales, dissatisfied with the situation of affairs

at home left his country, as related by the Welsh historians, in quest of new settlements and leaving Ireland to the north proceeded west till he discovered a fertile country where leaving a colony he returned and persuading many of his countrymen to join him put to sea with 10 ships and was never more heard of.

"This account has several times drawn the attention of the world but as no vestiges of them had then been found it was concluded, perhaps too rashly to be a fable or at least that no remains of the colony existed. Of late years, however, the western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the other Indians but speaking Welsh and retaining some ceremonies of the Christian worship and at length this is universally believed to be a fact.

"Captain Abraham Chaplain of Kentucky, a gentleman whose veracity may be entirely depended upon, assured the author that in the late war, being with his company in garrison at Kaskasky, some Indians came there and speaking in the Welsh dialect were perfectly understood and conversed with by two Welshmen in his company and that they informed them of the situation of their nation as mentioned above."

In the "Public Advertiser," a newspaper published in Louisville, Kentucky, by Shadrach Penn, early in the last century, appeared an interview between Lieutenant Joseph Roberts and an Indian in Washington City. Lieutenant Joseph Roberts was a Welshman born and reared in North Wales, and capable of judging of the kind of Welsh the Indian spoke. The following is his account of this interview as it appeared in the "Public Advertiser," May 15, 1819:

"In the year 1801 being at the City of Washington in America, I happened to be at a hotel, smoking a cigar according to the custom of the country and there was a young lad, a native of Wales, a waiter in the house and because he had displeased me by bringing me a glass of brandy and water, warm instead of cold, I said to him jocosely in Welsh, 'I'll give thee a good beating.'

"There happened to be at the time in the room one of the secondary Indian chiefs who on my pronouncing those words, rose in a great hurry stretching forth his hand, at the same time asking me in the ancient British tongue—'Is that thy language?' I answered him in the affirmative shaking hands at the same time, and the chief said that was likewise his language and the language of his father and mother and of his nation. I said to him so it is the language of my father and mother and

also my country. Upon this the Indian began to inquire from whence I came and I replied from Wales, but he had never heard of such a place. I explained that Wales was a principality in the kingdom called England. He had heard of England and of the English, but never of such a place as Wales.

“I asked him if there were any traditions amongst them whence their ancestors had come? He said there were and that they had come from a far distant country, very far in the east and from over the great waters. I conversed with him in Welsh and English; he knew better Welsh than I did and I asked him how they had come to retain their language so well from mixing with other Indians. He answered that they had a law or established custom in their nation forbidding any to teach their children another language until they had attained the age of 12 years and after that they were at liberty to learn any language they pleased. I asked him if he would like to go to England and Wales; he replied that he had not the least inclination to leave his native country and that he would sooner live in a wigwam than in a palace. He had ornamented his naked arms with bracelets, on his head were placed ostrich feathers.

“I was astonished and greatly amazed when I heard such a man who had painted his face of yellowish red

and of such an appearance speaking the ancient British language as fluently as if he had been born and brought up in the vicinity of Snowden. His head was shaved excepting around the crown of his head and there it was very long and plaited and it was on the crown of his head he had placed the ostrich feathers which I mentioned before to ornament himself.

"The situation of those Indians is about 800 miles southwest of Philadelphia, according to his statement and they are called Asguaws or Asguaw nation.

"The chief courted my society astonishingly, seeing that we were descended from the same people. He used to call upon me almost every day and take me to the woods to show me the virtues of the various herbs which grew there; for neither he nor his kindred were acquainted with compound medicine.

JOSEPH ROBERTS."

This statement of Lieutenant Roberts is one of the best of all the contributions to the literature of the Madoc colony of Welshmen among the North American Indians. The Indian with whom Lieutenant Roberts conversed spoke the ancient British or Welsh language fluently, gave a good reason for this language being so long retained by his people in America, and indicated that Wales, a country unknown to him, was the land from



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which his nation had come, by speaking its ancient language and locating it far to the east, beyond the great waters. I can recall nothing said by any other Welsh-speaking Indian which throws more light on the Madoc colony or that contributed as much in such few words to the plausibility of the tradition. If there be no truth in the tradition, then there is an astonishing amount of untruth in the numerous accounts of it. It is almost impossible to believe that so many witnesses as have testified in this case should have been plain liars about a matter in which they seem to have had no personal interest.

In 1804 the Honorable Harry Toulmin, who was Secretary of State under Governor Garrard, of Kentucky, wrote a letter to the editor of the "Palladium," a weekly newspaper published at Frankfort, Kentucky, in which he sets forth what had been learned from one Maurice Griffiths concerning the Welsh Indians. Griffiths was born in Wales, and while a mere lad emigrated to Virginia. While residing on the Roanoke River in Virginia he was taken prisoner by the Shawnees, about the year 1764, and conducted to their towns. After remaining with these Indians some two or three years he joined a party of five young braves, to go on a hunting and exploring expedition up the Missouri River. After ascending the

Missouri for many days, amid great difficulties, they came to a nation of Indians who were white or of a light complexion, and spoke the Welsh language. Mr. Griffiths made his statement to John Chiles, a respectable citizen of Woodford County, who in turn related it to Mr. Toulmin, who reduced it to writing and gave it to the "Palladium" for publication. It appeared in the "Palladium" on the 12th of December, 1804. Mr. Griffiths is endorsed by Mr. Chiles as a gentleman of standing and veracity and Mr. Chiles is endorsed by Mr. Toulmin as a citizen worthy of all confidence and credit. Mr. Toulmin needs no endorsement. He was President of Transylvania University, Secretary of State, Judge of the United States District Court, and author of an early history of Kentucky, as well as several valuable law-books. He was a minister of the gospel, of the Unitarian faith, and stood high as a Christian statesman, judge, literary man of broad culture and strict integrity. His letter to the "Palladium" is too long for insertion, and the following extracts are taken from it:

"After passing the mountains they entered a fine, fertile tract of land, which having traveled through for several days, they accidentally met with three white men in the Indian dress. Griffiths immediately understood their language, as it was pure Welsh, though they occa-

sionally made use of a few words with which he was not acquainted. However, as it happened to be the turn of one of his Shawnee companions to act as spokesman, or interpreter, he preserved a profound silence, and never gave them any intimation that he understood the language of their new companions.

“After proceeding with them four or five days’ journey, they came to the village of these white men, where they found that the whole nation were of the same color, having all the European complexion. The three men took them through their village for about the space of fifteen miles, when they came to a second council house, at which an assembly of the king and chief men of the nation was immediately held. The council lasted three days, and as the strangers were not supposed to be acquainted with their language, they were suffered to be present at their deliberations. The great question before the council was, what conduct should be observed toward the strangers. From their firearms, their knives, and their tomahawks, it was concluded that they were a war-like people. It was conceived that if they were sent to look out for a country for their nation, that if they were suffered to return they might expect a body of powerful invaders, but that if these six men were put to death nothing would be known of their country, and they would

still enjoy their possessions in security. It was finally determined that they should be put to death. Griffiths then thought that it was time for him to speak. He addressed the council in the Welsh language: he informed them that they had not been sent by any nation; that they were actuated merely by private curiosity; that they had no hostile intentions; that it was their wish to trace the Missouri to its source, and that they would return to their country satisfied with the discovery they had made, without any wish to disturb the repose of their new acquaintances. An instant astonishment glowed in the countenances not only of the council, but of his Shawnee companions, who clearly saw that he was understood by the people of the country. Full confidence was at once given to his declarations; the king advanced and gave him his hand. They abandoned the design of putting him and his companions to death, and from that moment treated them with the utmost friendship. Griffiths and the Shawnees continued eight months in the nation, but were deterred from prosecuting their researches up the Missouri by the advice of the people of the country, who informed them that they had gone twelve months' journey up the river, but found it as large there as it was in their own country. As to the history of this people he could learn nothing satisfactory.

The only account they could give was that their forefathers had come up the river from a very distant country. They had no books, no records, no writings. They intermixed with no other people by marriage; there was not a dark-skinned man in the nation. Their numbers were very considerable. There was a continued range of settlements on the river for fifty miles, and there were within this space three large water courses which fell into the Missouri, on the banks of each of which likewise they were settled. He supposed there must be fifty thousand men in the nation capable of bearing arms. Their clothing was skins, well dressed. Their houses were made of upright posts and the bark of trees. The only implements they had to cut them with were stone tomahawks. They had no iron; their arms were bows and arrows. They had some silver, which had been hammered with stones into coarse ornaments, but it did not appear to be pure. They had neither horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, nor any domestic or tame animals. They lived by hunting. He said nothing about their religion."

In 1842, Thomas S. Hinde, an antiquarian of more than local reputation, in answer to inquiries made by John S. Williams, editor of the "American Pioneer," gave some valuable information touching the Madoc

tradition. Mr. Hinde spent many years in investigating the antiquities of the West, and was of no little help to the Reverend John P. Campbell in the vast amount of information he gathered upon this subject. He was authority upon all questions touching the antiquities of Kentucky and the Western States. In answering the queries of Mr. Williams, he wrote a letter which appeared in the "Pioneer," volume 1, page 373, and from which the following extract is taken:

"Mount Carmel, Ill., May 30, 1824.

"Mr. J. S. Williams.

"Dear Sir:

"Your letter of the 17th, to Major Armstrong, was placed in my hands some days ago. The brief remarks and hints given you are correct. I have a vast quantity of western matter, collected in notes gathered from various sources, mostly from persons who knew the facts. These notes reach back to remote periods. It is a fact that the Welsh under Owen ap Zuinch, in the 12th century found their way to the Mississippi and as far up the Ohio as the Falls of that River at Louisville where they were cut off by the Indians; others ascended the Missouri, were either captured, or settled with and sunk into Indian habits. Proof 1: In 1799, six soldiers' skeletons were dug up near Jeffersonville, each

skeleton had a breast-plate of brass, cast with the Welsh coat-of-arms, the Mermaid and Harp with a Latin inscription, in substance, "virtuous deeds meet their just reward." One of these plates was left by Captain Jonathan Taylor, with the late Mr. Hubbard Taylor, of Clarke county, and when called for by me in 1814 for the late Dr. John P. Campbell of Chillicothe, Ohio, who was preparing notes of the antiquities of the west, by a letter from Mr. Hubbard Taylor, Jr. (a relative of mine), now living, I was informed that the breast plate had been taken to Virginia by a gentleman of that state, I supposed as a matter of curiosity. Proff 2nd. The late Mr. McIntosh, who first settled near this and had been for fifty or sixty years prior to his death, in 1831 or 2 a western Indian trader, was in Fort Kaskaskia, prior to its being taken by General George Rogers Clarke in 1778 and heard as he informed me himself, a Welshman and an Indian from far up the Missouri, speaking and conversing in the Welsh language. It was stated by Gilbert Imlay, in his history of the West, that it was Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Union county, Kentucky, that heard this conversation in Welsh. Dr. Campbell visiting Chaplain found it was not him, afterwards the fact was stated by McIntosh, from whom I obtained other facts as to western matters. Some hunter, many

years ago, informed me of a tomb-stone being found in the southern part of Indiana, with initials of a name, and 1186 engraved upon it. The Mohawk Indians had a tradition among them respecting the Welsh, and of their having been cut off by the Indians at the Falls of the Ohio. The late Col. Joseph Hamilton Davis who had for many years sought for information on this subject, mentions this fact, and of the Welshman's bones being found buried on Corn Island so that Southey, the king's laureat, had some foundation for his Welsh poem."

This statement of Mr. Hinde in the above extract, that six skeletons in the Welsh armor were exhumed near the Falls of the Ohio in 1799, does not strike the reader as a truth too evident for doubt, and reminds one of the skeleton in armor found near Fall River in 1831. If the Fall River skeleton was any proof of the Norse colony on Fall River, in the Eleventh century, the other six skeletons should be accepted as six times as much proof of the Welsh colony at the Falls of the Ohio in the Twelfth century. But instead of the six skeletons of the Falls of the Ohio having the strongest proof, the single skeleton of Fall River got the start by the help of scientists. The celebrated chemist Berzelius analyzed the metal upon the Fall River skeleton



TREMADOC VILLAGE



RHAIADYR DU CATARACT



and found it to be identical in composition with the metal known to have been used on Norse armor in the Tenth century. After this analysis, some antiquarians took the liberty to conclude that the Fall River skeleton was that of an Iclander, and claimed that this Iclander might have been Thorsvald Erickson, who was killed by the Skraellings in America about the beginning of the Eleventh century. The Falls of the Ohio skeletons could not compete with such assuming as this. A chemist should have analyzed them, and if he had done so and found their metal to be the same as that used by the Welsh in the Twelfth century then it might have been in order, according to the imagining in the Fall River case, to have pronounced one of the skeletons that of Prince Madoc and the others those of his five principal men, if their names could have been found, who were slain in the great battle of Sand Island between the White and the Red Indians, in which the White Indians were the vanquished and the Red Indians the victors.

X. DESTRUCTION OF WHOLE TRIBES OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The truth of the Madoc tradition has been questioned by some, because they claim that no Indian tribe in America could be readily traced back to a colony of Welsh

planted here by Madoc. This view is in direct opposition to the testimony of dozens of respectable witnesses who stated that they had seen and talked with Indians in different localities who spoke the ancient British or Welsh language, and indicated that their ancestors had come from a far distant land beyond the great waters. But even if there are now no Welsh Indians in America, it does not follow that they were not here at a previous date. Whole tribes of Indians have been swept from the face of the earth by war, pestilence, and famine before and since the discovery of Columbus.

Drake, in his "Aboriginal Races of North America," enumerated nearly five hundred tribes, a large percentage of which were extinct when the list was made out and known only by the name they bore in former days. The Iroquois Indians, after getting possession of firearms in the Seventeenth century, carried death and desolation to many neighboring tribes. Among the nations destroyed by them were the Eries, who gave their name to one of the great lakes in this country. War between different tribes has been constant from time immemorial, and some tribes have always been destroying others. There is no telling at this date how many tribes have been utterly destroyed in one way or another.

Smallpox has been a great destroyer of different tribes of Indians. This disease, until it was brought among them by the whites, was unknown to them, and they were utterly incapable of controlling it. Catlin, in his "North American Indians," mentions the destroying of the Mandans by smallpox as late as the summer of 1838. They were confined within their villages by the hostile Sioux, when a boat from St. Louis landed traders with the smallpox among them. Not being able to get out and scatter in the country on account of the besieging enemy, they died in their quarters, not by individuals, but by families. Deaths were so fast and so numerous that no attempts were made to bury, and the dead lay in heaps to putrify in every wigwam. Out of the whole nation only about thirty were left alive, and these sought self-destruction by rushing upon the besieging enemy and thus securing death. The whole nation perished in a few days, and passed forever from the number of living tribes.

It must be stated also, however bitter may be the acknowledgment, that civilization has been a great destroyer of the Indians. The white man, with civilization in one hand and the whisky bottle in the other, has caused the death of more savages than he has civilized. He has also introduced among

them a loathsome disease more revolting than the smallpox, which contests the death rate with the other destroyers.

It is therefore well known to us that whole tribes have perished and left only a name behind. That the Madocs were one of these extinguished tribes we have some Indian traditions in evidence. An old Indian told Colonel James F. Moore, of Kentucky, that long ago a war of extermination was waged between the Red Indians and the Indians of a lighter complexion in Kentucky, and that the last great battle between them was fought at the Falls of the Ohio, where the light-colored Indians were driven upon Sand Island as the last hope of escape, and there all were slaughtered by their pursuers. It was the opinion of George Catlin, who spent years among the Indians and a good part of the time among the Mandans, that these Mandans were direct descendants from the Madoc colony. He reached this conclusion after living with this tribe and studying their habits and learning their traditions. With this opinion of Catlin and what was said by the old Indian to Colonel Moore and the statements of the many witnesses heretofore mentioned in this article, all of whom had seen Welsh Indians in America and talked with them in the Welsh language, it would hardly seem just to doubt the truth

of the Madoc tradition for no better reason than that there is now no existing tribe of Welsh Indians in this country.

The principal pre-Columbian discoveries of America have now been presented, and not one of them found America uninhabited. Madoc, the Welsh prince, in his discovery in the Twelfth century is said in Llwyd's translation of Caradoc's history of Wales to have found the continent without inhabitants, but this is a typographical error. It was probably intended to be stated that the country did not have "many" inhabitants, instead of "not any" inhabitants. The text bears this interpretation, from the fact that it states a few lines above that Madoc found the natives different from what he had seen in Europe. It is possible, however, that Madoc may have landed at some point where there were no inhabitants in sight, as there might have been many such places in a country as vast as America. While a single spot reached by Madoc may have been void of inhabitants, the rest of the country might have been more or less populated. He doubtless, however, found the new country inhabited, as it is so stated elsewhere in the text.

XI. AMERICA THE OLDEST OF THE CONTINENTS

After the discovery by Columbus in the latter part of the Fifteenth century, it was customary to speak of the eastern hemisphere as the Old World, and the western as the New. No one seemed to care how long the western hemisphere may have existed before this discovery. The discovery was new, and therefore the country was deemed new also. After the discovery by Columbus made it known, many alleged discoverers, before unheard of, came into existence from different nations. Besides the six discoveries set forth in this article, there were Arabians, and Italians, and Dutch, and Poles, Japanese, Jews, and others who laid claim to this honor. None of these, however, could make out a satisfactory claim to its discovery, and it may not have been possible to satisfy all doubts in any one case. We knew that the eastern hemisphere existed and had existed for thousands of years, but, disregarding the claims of some of the ancients, we did not certainly know of the western world until it was discovered by Columbus, and as the discovery was new, the country discovered was called new also.

We have no certain way of arriving at the age of continents or of determining the relative age of any one of

them, especially if the age is to be calculated in years. Geologists get over the difficulty of estimating in years by the use of such terms as eras, ages, periods, epochs, etc. They will tell you what geological age a thing belongs to by the fossils imbedded in it, but when they undertake to tell the year in which anything existed, it is by estimation only. Professor Shaler estimated that the North American continent had existed between one hundred and four hundred millions of years since it was prepared for life—since plants and animals began to be developed and live upon it. To say nothing of four hundred million years, one hundred millions present a period of which the human mind can have no rational conception. We could form quite as just a conception of four hundred million as of one hundred million. Both terms suggest an incomprehensible duration of time. It probably makes no difference, therefore, whether we designate this period as four hundred million or one hundred million or one million, or even a less number of years. There is no danger of an error being discovered in the addition, because there has been no fixed unit to start from in estimating the existence of a continent in years, and possibly can be none.

If, however, it has been between one hundred million and four hundred million of years since animals and plants

began life in America, how long did America exist before it was fit for the life of man? If the theory of the nebulous origin of the earth be correct, quite as long a period may have been necessary for the central nebulous mass out of which our solar system was evolved to break up into sections, and for these sections to whirl around in space until they were consolidated into worlds. Our planet probably acted in common with others until cooling formed a crust sufficiently strong for an ocean bed over its internal fires, and rains to descend from an atmosphere which held them in suspension, until they covered the crust with the waters of a universal ocean. Then it began to act for itself by eroding this crust and contracting from further cooling until it pressed the sides of sections of the crust upon one another and crushed and pushed them upward in the confusion of a crumpled, peaked, and valleyed mountain range. Such were the first mountains of the earth, and they formed the nucleus of the North American continent along the line which separates the United States from Canada. It is known as the Laurentian range, and is made up of the first metamorphosed sedimentary rocks that were formed. It extended from the Atlantic Ocean on the east along the trend of the St. Lawrence River and the lakes westward beyond the Mississippi River nearly to the subse-



FLINT VILLAGE



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quently erected Rocky Mountains, a distance of some two thousand miles in length and three hundred miles in width. This continent may have been outlined beneath the universal ocean long before its upheaval, but this was its first appearance above the water, and it was before any one of the other continents made its appearance above the sea. As it first appeared, America was a mass of metamorphic rocks contorted and crumpled and twisted and jumbled into a shape which had nothing of the appearance of suitability for plant or animal life. It would require much time after this bleak and barren assemblage of rocks got above the water for them to expand into a continent and assume a fit form for the habitation of man. It had to go through the long years of the Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, Triassic, Jurassic, Cretaceous, and possibly into the Tertiary period before it could be ready for human life. It, however, got the start of other continents, and there is no good reason for supposing that it did not continue in the lead until it became the habitation of the original man. There is reason, therefore, for believing that the existence of the earth from its nebulous stage to the beginning of the Azoic age was as long as from its beginning in the Azoic to the Psychozoic age. And if this be so, another fearful period of from one

hundred to four hundred millions of years would have to be added to the entire duration of the earth. Such figures, however, are about as reliable as counting the sands of the seashore without seeing them.

It has recently, however, been contended by some of the most eminent of geologists that North America was the first of the continents. In the Canadian geological surveys the earliest sedimentary rocks were found in the Laurentian Mountains, and as no older rocks have been found anywhere, America was pronounced the first-born of the continents. Louis Agassiz, in speaking of America as the oldest of the continents, grew eloquent and expressed himself in his "Geological Sketches," volume 1, page 1, and paragraph 1, in the following language:

"First born among the continents, though so much later in culture and civilization than some of more recent birth, America, so far as her physical history is concerned, has been falsely denominated the New World. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters, hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the far west."

**XII. AMERICA THE FIRST INHABITED OF THE
CONTINENTS**

It was the belief of the wise Thomas Jefferson that America was the first seat of the human race, and that the eastern hemisphere was peopled from the western. A letter written by him to President Stiles of Yale College, in 1786, while he represented the United States at the Court of France, was published in the "American Museum" for November, 1787, page 492. From this letter the following extract is taken, clearly stating Mr. Jefferson's belief that the first inhabitants of Asia, who so much resembled the American aborigines, went from America to Asia instead of coming from Asia to America:

"I return you my thanks for the communications relative to the western country. When we reflect how long we have inhabited those parts of America, which lie between the Alleghany and the ocean—that no monument has ever been found in them, which indicated the use of iron among its aboriginal inhabitants—that they were as far advanced in arts, at least as the inhabitants on the other side of the Alleghany a good degree of infidelity may be excused as to the new discoveries which suppose regular fortifications of brick work to have been in use among the Indians on the waters of the Ohio. Intrench-

ments of earth they might indeed make, but brick is more difficult. The art of making it may have preceded the use of iron; but it would suppose a greater degree of industry than men in the hunter state usually possess. I should like to know whether General Parfons himself saw actual bricks among the remains of fortifications. I suppose the settlement of our continent is of the most remote antiquity; the similitude between its inhabitants and those of the eastern parts of Asia, render it probable that ours are descended from them, or they from ours. The latter is my opinion, founded on this single fact. Among the red inhabitants of Asia there are but few languages radically different; but among our Indians, the number of languages is infinite, which are so radically different as to exhibit at present no appearance of their having been derived from a common source. The time necessary for the generation of so many languages must be immense."

Mr. Jefferson gave the best reason he could for his belief that the first inhabitants went from America to Asia instead of coming from Asia to America. Since his time, however, scientific research, in its wonderful progress, has developed other reasons for the truth of this theory. Scientists have exhumed, in America, the skeletons of past geological ages and the remains of dead

human beings which gave evidence of as early existence here as any yet found outside of America. Had Mr. Jefferson lived to this time he might have been foremost among the scientists whose investigations look to solving the problem of the oldest continent and the first human beings on the globe.

The Red Indians were the oldest inhabitants of America known to white men, though there were here, doubtless, older beings who antedated them by many centuries and had many traditions as to their origin, but none sufficiently divested of myth and absurdity to lead to a rational conclusion as to the first country inhabited by them or the beginning of its occupation. They had some vague traditions of a very long-ago people who were inhabitants of this country before them, but nothing sufficiently definite for reliable information as to the character or the time of this people. Some tribes believed that their ancestors had sprung from the ground in this country, and that they and their descendants had never lived in any other land. Others believed that their ancestors had come from a distant land, but they could give no intelligent account as to where that distant land might be or when they left it and came to this. The traditions of the wigwam throw no satisfactory light on the dark problem as to which of the continents was first

inhabited by man. All information on this subject that is worth knowing has come from another source, and that source is not from the living of the present or of the unknown past. As we must look into the rock-built graveyards of buried fossilized animals to learn their history, so we must exhume the relics and skeletons of dead and forgotten human beings to learn where and how they began life on the earth, and on this continent.

The implements and bones of primitive man have been found in the caves and in the river-drift of Europe mingled with the bones of extinct animals which inhabited the earth during the Quaternary age. In the drift of the upper terrace of the river Somme, in France, have been found flint implements which had been chipped into shape by man, associated with the bones of such extinct Quaternary animals as the mammoth, the rhinoceros and the cave lion. In a cave at Mentone, near Nice, the skeleton of a man was found with paleolithic implements near him and the bones of extinct Quaternary animals about him. The bones had been preserved by a covering of stalagmite, and the teeth of the reindeer—which had probably been used as ornaments—showed the holes with which they had been pierced. In a cave on the river Vézère was found a piece of bone shaped by man

on which there was a rude drawing of the mammoth whose tusk had furnished the plate on which the picture was etched. Such findings as these in the undisturbed dust of the cave or the drift of the river clearly indicate that man was there in the Quaternary age, and possibly contending with those extinct animals for the caves as a habitation. The cases cited are among the oldest evidences of man yet found in the eastern hemisphere and there is no need of citing others, though many exist not only in France, but in Belgium, in England, in Norway, and in other countries. As early, however, as they indicate the presence of man in the eastern hemisphere, there have been findings of his relics and his bones in America which show his presence here as early, if not earlier. Evidences of man in America during the Quaternary age, which some geologists estimate as two hundred thousand years ago, while others make the time much longer, have been found in the sands and gravels drifted by glacial currents and in localities with surroundings possibly indicating the Tertiary age.

In the glacial drift on a bluff in the valley of the Delaware River, near Trenton, New Jersey, have been found rudely chipped argillite implements which scientists have pronounced paleolithic. They were found imbedded in the sands and gravel, which clearly indicated that they

had reposed undisturbed ever since they had been deposited there by the glacial flood which deposited the sands and pebbles around them. The hard stone of which they had been made could not have been worn or chipped into the shape they bore by any force except that of the hand of man, and hence it is inferred that man was there when the current of the melting ice of the early glacial period bore them there. This would take man back thousands of years beyond the Quaternary age to his possible existence in America in the Tertiary age.

In the auriferous gravels of an old river bed in Calaveras County, California, was found at the bottom of a mining shaft, one hundred and fifty feet below the surface, the skull of a human being. Over it had been deposited four successive beds of gold-bearing drift and five streams of lava from volcanoes long since extinct. The gold-bearing gravels in which it was found belonged to the Tertiary age, and man is therefore assumed to have been in California during that age.

On the Bourbois River, in Missouri, the skeleton of a mastodon was found buried in such a position and with such surroundings as to indicate that the animal had been rendered helpless by being mired, and in that condition killed by human beings. Arrow-heads were found about and around it, and wood ashes indicated that fire



LLYN OGWEN



GWRYCH CASTLE

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had helped in its destruction. As no animal but man is known to have used fire, it was assumed that the monster had been killed by a fire when the paleolithic weapons had failed.

Many other instances of the relics of man found in the glacial drift might be cited, but the above three are enough to show that he was in America as early as he was in the eastern hemisphere and perhaps earlier, and that America did not need immigrants from the east or from any other terrestrial source to begin her population. America possibly had citizens to spare while the eastern hemisphere was void of inhabitants.

Besides the three cases before cited, which carried the inhabitants of America back beyond the Quaternary and into the Tertiary age, there are examples of man's very early appearance upon the American continent, in which the time is sometimes given in years.

In the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky a mummy was to be seen, early in the last century, about the age of which no reliable conjecture was formed, from the fact that it was said to have been removed from an adjacent cave without noting with sufficient particularity the original position it occupied. As it appeared in the Mammoth Cave, it was sitting in an excavation about four feet square and three feet deep. The skeleton—that of

a female—was perfectly preserved, with the flesh and skin dried upon it. It was clad first in the skin of a deer and over this was a mantle made of the inner bark of the linden tree. The hair was cut short and was of a dark red color. The woman was above the average size and was neither black nor red, but of a light complexion. By her side was a large reticule or sack, made of the inner bark of the linden tree. In this ample portmanteau were the following articles: one cap of woven or knit bark; seven head-dresses made of the quills of birds, so put together that when placed upon the head the quilled ends would bind the head while the feathered ends would expand like an umbrella and make a showy head-dress; hundreds of seeds of a dark color strung together like beads; a number of the red hoofs of the fawn, strung together into a necklace; the claw of an eagle, with a string through it so it could be worn as a pendant; the jaw of a bear, seemingly designed to be worn also as a pendant; the skins of two rattlesnakes, with fourteen rattles still upon one of them; a quantity of coloring matter done up in leaves; a small bunch of threads or strings made of the sinews of the deer; a number of needles made of bone, and two whistles of cane. How long she was an occupant of the cave we have no means of determining or even of rationally estimating, but if the cave was two

million years old, as stated by Professor Shaler, she might be allowed a few thousand of these years for her enjoyment of the darkness and solitude of her subterranean abode.

The skeleton of a man found in a Florida reef was pronounced by Agassiz to be ten thousand years old.

While excavating for the gas-works in New Orleans a human skeleton was found in the delta of the Mississippi below four successive forests and pronounced by Doctor Fowler to have been there fifteen thousand years.

That mysterious people who antedated the Red Indian and covered the Mississippi Valley with mounds, circumvallations, temples, and fortifications, and scattered everywhere stone axes, flint arrow-heads, pottery, pipes, and ornaments of copper and clay, may have been the autochthons of America. Some of their mounds—and especially those immense piles at Cahokia and Grave Creek—remind us of the mass heaped over the body of Alyattes near Sardis, but unlike that monarch's mound, believed to have existed twenty-five hundred years, they furnish no key to the time at which they were reared. Trees have been found growing upon some of them whose annulations showed them to be eight hundred years old, but this determined nothing as to the real age of the mounds. The trees that measured eight hundred years may have been

preceded by others and those again by others of equal or greater age, and so on until thousands of years were exhausted in the indeterminate calculation. Some of these trees may have antedated the giant redwoods of California or the fossil forests of Yellowstone Park, but we have nothing to guide us in arriving at a just conclusion as to their age.

In the midst of these perplexities, we can have no reason to doubt that the Power which is said to have created man in Asia might have created him elsewhere, and placed him in habitable quarters in America before any part of the eastern hemisphere was ready for his occupancy. The first formed rocks which have yet been seen upon the globe, and the earliest forms of life yet discovered, and the oldest human relics which have yet been found, were in America. If, therefore, man first lived and died and laid down his bones in the western world before he died and laid them down in the eastern hemisphere, why should we look for his origin in the East instead of the West? Why not claim him where we first find his remains, instead of troubling ourselves about the time of his coming and the place whence he came? The Orientals have not been able in thousands of years to fix the latitude and longitude of the Garden of Eden, where the human race is claimed to have first begun

existence, and as the question is still open the Occidentals may reasonably claim America as the first land above the ocean and the first inhabited by man, until the proof is made clear of an earlier inhabited continent.

When the two sons of a pioneer widow of Kentucky were slain by the Indians and their dead bodies brought home for interment, she was asked if she had any choice as to the location of the graves. She said that she wanted space left next to her husband for her own grave, and her eldest son laid next to where she was to lie; that he was her firstborn, and was entitled to burial next to her who had given him life. And so Americans should feel toward their country. If America was the first-born and first-inhabited of the continents, she is entitled to the place of honor in the construction and the peopling of the globe. Other continents like the American may have had contemporaneous foundations laid down in the ancient seas that enveloped the infant world. America, however, was the first built up, and the first to show dry land above the universal ocean. A length of time that defies all computation was necessary for each of the continents to rise from its submerged position and pass through the Azoic, the Silurian, the Devonian, the Carboniferous and the Reptilian ages to the age of Man, the most exalted of all animals; but when man was crea-

ted and to be placed upon the earth, the continent that first rose above the water and showed the first dry land was presumably the first ready for his occupancy. He was doubtless a frightful barbarian, as he first appeared naked in summer and skin-wrapped in winter, living in caverns and feeding upon the spontaneous fruits of the earth and on such of the wild animals as he could subdue. He had no member like the paw of the cave bear to seize his food and fight his battles, but he had a hand which could fashion the adamantine rocks and make them more effective than the great claws and huge teeth and mighty strength of other animals. He soon rose above the formidable beasts around him and made them subject to his will, because he had a mind which reasoned and added each new item of knowledge to the store already gathered, while the other animals never advanced beyond that with which they started.

There is deeply implanted in our nature a love of the distant past, and the nearer it approaches the confines of the dark unknown the more we are enamored of it. We like old things, and the older they are the better we like them. Americans should be proud to claim theirs as the first of the continents to rise above the waves of the universal ocean and the first to furnish an abiding-place for the human race. This may be likened by some to those

genealogical enthusiasts who would trace their descent from Adam, but such extravagance can hardly eradicate the sentiment. They are proud to look back to the humble beginning of barbarian man upon this continent, and to follow his progress through incalculable ages to the splendors of the present and the possibilities of the future. America, long deprived of the honor of her proper place among the continents by being called the New World, has at last been pronounced by geologists the first to exist, and the analogical inference is reasonable that she was the first to be inhabited. Americans expect of scientists that they will continue to study the rock-leaved volumes of the world and to search among the undestroyed remains of primeval man until it is clearly determined that as America is the oldest of the continents, she was also the first to be inhabited by man.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

I

EXTINCTION OF THE MANDANS

[Catlin's North American Indians, Volume 2, Pages 777-781]

From the accounts brought to New York in the fall of 1838, by Messrs. M'Kensie, Mitchell, and others, from the upper Missouri, and with whom I conversed on the subject, it seems that in the summer of that year the small-pox was accidentally introduced amongst the Mandans, by the Fur Traders; and that in the course of two months they all perished, except some thirty or forty, who were taken as slaves by the Riccarees; an enemy living two hundred miles below them, and who moved up and took possession of their village soon after their calamity, taking up their residence in it, it being a better village than their own; and from the lips of one of the Traders who had more recently arrived from there, I had the following account of the remaining few, in whose destruction was the final termination of this interesting and once numerous tribe.

The Riccarees, he said, had taken possession of the village after the disease had subsided, and after living some months in it, were attacked by a party of their enemies, the Sioux, and whilst fighting desperately in resistance, in which the Mandan prisoners had taken an active part, the latter had concerted a plan for their own destruction, which was effected by their simultaneously running through the piquets on to the prairie, calling out to the Sioux (both men and women) to kill them, "that they were Riccaree

dogs, that their friends were all dead, and that they did not wish to live," that they here wielded their weapons as desperately as they could, to excite the fury of their enemy, and that they were thus cut to pieces and destroyed.

The accounts given by two or three white men, who were amongst the Mandans during the ravages of this frightful disease, are most appalling and actually too heart-rending and disgusting to be recorded. The disease was introduced into the country by the Fur Company's steamer from St. Louis; which had two or three of their crew sick with the disease when it approached the upper Missouri, and imprudently stopped to trade at the Mandan village, which was on the banks of the river, where the chiefs and others were allowed to come on board, by which means the disease got ashore.

I am constrained to believe that the gentlemen in charge of the steamer did not believe it to be the small-pox; for if they had known it to be such, I cannot conceive of such imprudence as regarded their own interests in the country, as well as the fate of these poor people, by allowing their boat to advance into the country under such circumstances.

It seems that the Mandans were surrounded by several war-parties of their most powerful enemies, the Sioux, at that unlucky time, and they could not therefore disperse upon the plains, by which many of them could have been saved; and they were necessarily inclosed within the piquets of their villages, where the disease in a few days became so very malignant that death ensued in a few hours after its attacks; and so slight were their hopes when they were attacked, that nearly half of them destroyed themselves with their knives, with their guns,

and by dashing their brains out by leaping headforemost from a thirty-foot ledge of rocks in front of their village. The first symptom of the disease was a rapid swelling of the body, and so very virulent had it become, that very many died in two or three hours after their attack, and that in many cases without the appearance of the disease upon the skin. Utter dismay seemed to possess all classes and all ages, and they gave themselves up in despair, as entirely lost. There was but one continual crying and howling and praying to the Great Spirit, for his protection during the nights and days, and there being but few living, and those in too appalling despair, nobody thought of burying the dead, whose bodies, whole families together, were left in horrid and loathsome piles in their own wigwams, with a few buffalo robes, etc., thrown over them, there to decay and to be devoured by their own dogs. That such a proportion of their community as that above mentioned, should have perished in so short a time, seems yet to the reader, an unaccountable thing; but in addition to the causes just mentioned, it must be borne in mind that this frightful disease is everywhere far more fatal amongst the native than in civilized population, which may be owing to some extraordinary constitutional susceptibility; or, I think more probably, to the exposed lives they lead, leading more directly to fatal consequences. In this, as in most of their diseases, they ignorantly and imprudently plunge into the coldest water, whilst in the highest state of fever, and often die before they have power to get out.

Some have attributed the unexampled fatality of this disease amongst the Indians to the fact of their living entirely on animal food; but so important a subject for investigation I must leave for sounder judgments than mine

to decide. They are a people whose constitutions and habits of life enable them most certainly to meet most of its ills with less dread, and with decidedly greater success, than they are met in civilized communities; and I would not dare to decide that their simple meat diet was the cause of their fatal exposure to one frightful disease, when I am decidedly of opinion that it has been the cause of their exemption and protection from another, almost equally destructive, and, like the former, of civilized introduction.

During the season of the ravages of the Asiatic cholera, which swept over the greater part of the western country, and the Indian frontier, I was a traveller through those regions, and was able to witness its effects; and I learned from what I saw, as well as from what I have heard in other parts since that time, that it travelled to and over the frontiers, carrying dismay and death amongst the tribes on the borders in many cases, so far as they had adopted the civilized modes of life, with its dissipations, using vegetable food and salt; but wherever it came to the tribes living exclusively on meat, and that without the use of salt, its progress was suddenly stopped. I mention this as a subject which I looked upon as important to science, and therefore one on which I made many careful inquiries; and so far as I have learned along that part of the frontier over which I have since passed, I have to my satisfaction ascertained that such became the utmost limits of this fatal disease in its travels to the west, unless where it might have followed some of the routes of the Fur Traders, who, of course, have introduced the modes of civilized life.

From the trader who was present at the destruction of the Mandans I had many most wonderful incidents of

this dreadful scene, but I dread to recite them. Amongst them, however, there is one that I must briefly describe, relative to the death of that noble gentleman of whom I have already said so much, and to whom I became so much attached, Mah-to-toh-pa, or "The Four Bears." This fine fellow sat in his wigwam and watched every one of his family die about him, his wives and little children, after he had recovered from the disease himself; when he walked out, around the village, and wept over the final destruction of his tribe, his braves and warriors, whose sinewy arms alone could he depend on for a continuance of their existence, all laid low; when he came back to his lodge, where he covered his whole family in a pile, with a number of robes, and wrapping another around himself, went out upon a hill at a little distance where he laid several days, despite all the solicitations of the Traders, resolved to starve himself to death. He remained there till the sixth day when he had just strength enough to creep back to the village, when he entered the horrid gloom of his own wigwam, and laying his body alongside of the group of his family, drew his robe over him and died on the ninth day of his fatal abstinence.

So have perished the friendly and hospitable Mandans, from the best accounts I could get; and although it may be possible that some few individuals may yet be remaining, I think it is not probable; and one thing is certain, even if such be the case, that, as a nation, the Mandans are extinct, having no longer an existence.

There is yet a melancholy part of the tale to be told, relating to the ravages of this frightful disease in that country on the same occasion, as it spread to other contiguous tribes, to the Minatarees, the Knisteneaux, the

Blackfeet, the Cheyennes, the Crows; amongst whom twenty-five thousand perished in the course of four or five months, which most appalling facts I got from Major Pilcher, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, from Mr. M'Kenzie and others.

It may be naturally asked here, by the reader, whether the Government of the United States have taken any measures to prevent the ravages of this fatal disease amongst these exposed tribes; to which I answer, that repeated efforts have been made, and so far generally, as the tribes have ever had the disease (or at all events, within the recollections of those who are now living in the tribes) the Government agents have succeeded in introducing vaccination as a protection; but amongst those tribes in their wild state, and where they have not suffered with the disease, very little success has been met with in the attempt to protect them on account of their superstitions, which generally resisted all attempts to introduce vaccination. Whilst I was on the Upper Missouri, several surgeons were sent into the country with the Indian agents, where I several times saw the attempts made without success. They have perfect confidence in the skill of their own physicians, until the disease had made one slaughter in their tribe, and then having seen white men amongst them protected by it, they are disposed to receive it, before which they cannot believe that so minute a puncture in the arm is going to protect them from so fatal a disease; and as they see white men so earnestly urging it, they decide that it must be some new mode or trick of pale faces, by which they are to gain some new advantage over them, and they stubbornly and successfully resist it.



ABERMAW, OR BARMOUTH VILLAGE



RHUDDLAN CASTLE

nd

II

[Catlin's North American Indians, Volume 2, Pages 781-786]

THE WELSH COLONY,

Which I barely spoke of in page 319, which sailed under the direction of Prince Madoc, or Madawe, from North Wales, in the latter part of the Twelfth century in ten ships, according to numerous and accredited authors, and never returned to their own country, have been supposed to have landed somewhere on the coast of North or South America; and from the best authorities (which I will suppose everybody had read rather than quote them at this time) I believe it has been pretty clearly proved that they landed either on the coast of Florida or about the mouth of the Mississippi, and according to the history and poetry of their country, settled somewhere in the interior of North America, where they are yet remaining, intermixed with some of the savage tribes.

In my letter just referred to, I barely suggested, that the Mandans whom I found with so many peculiarities in looks and customs, which I have already described, might possibly be the remains of this lost colony amalgamated with a tribe, or part of a tribe of natives which would account for the unusual appearances of this tribe of Indians and also for the changed character and customs of the Welsh colonists, provided these be the remains of them.

Since those notes were written as will have been seen by my subsequent letters, I have descended the Missouri river from the Mandan village, to St. Louis, a distance of eighteen hundred miles, and have taken pains to

examine its shores; and from the repeated remains of the ancient location of the Mandans, which I met with on the banks of that river, I am fully convinced that I have traced them down nearly to the mouth of the Ohio River, and from exactly similar appearances, which I recollect to have seen several years since in several places in the interior of the state of Ohio, I am fully convinced that they have formerly occupied that part of the country, and have, from some cause or other, been put in motion, and continued to make their repeated moves until they arrived at the place of their residence at the time of their extinction, on the Upper Missouri.

These ancient fortifications, which are very numerous in that vicinity, some of which inclose a great many acres, and being built on the banks of the rivers, with walls in some places twenty or thirty feet in height, with covered ways to the water, evince a knowledge of the science of fortifications, apparently not a century behind that of the present day, were evidently never built by any nation of savages in America, and present to us incontestible proof of the former existence of a people very far advanced in the arts of civilization, who have, from some cause or other, disappeared, and left these imperishable proofs of their former existence.

Now, I am inclined to believe that the ten ships of Madoc, or a part of them at least, entered the Mississippi River at the Balize, and made their way up the Mississippi, or that they landed somewhere on the Florida coast, and that their brave and persevering colonists made their way through the interior to a position on the Ohio River, where they cultivated their fields, and established in one of the finest countries on earth, a flourishing colony; but

were at length set upon by the savages, whom, perhaps, they provoked to warfare, being trespassers on their hunting-grounds, and by whom, in overpowering hordes, they were besieged, until it was necessary to erect there fortifications for their defense, into which they were at last driven by a confederacy of tribes, and there held till their ammunition and provisions gave out, and they in the end had all perished except perhaps that portion of them who might have formed alliance by marriage with the Indians, and their off-spring, who would have been half-breeds, and of course attached to the Indians' side; whose lives have been spared in the general massacre; and at length, being despised, as all half-breeds of enemies are, have gathered themselves into a band, and severing from their parent tribe, have moved off, and increased in numbers and strength, as they have advanced up the Missouri river to the place where they have been known for many years by the name of Mandans, a corruption or abbreviation, perhaps, of "Madawgwys," the name applied by the Welsh to the followers of Madawc.

If this be a startling theory for the world, they will be the more sure to read the following brief reasons which I bring in support of my opinion; and if they do not support me, they will at least be worth knowing, and may, at the same time, be the means of eliciting further and more successful inquiry.

As I have said on page 415 and in other places, the marks of the Mandan villages are known by the excavations of two feet or more in depth and thirty or forty feet in diameter, of a circular form, made in the ground for the foundations of their wigwams, which leave a de-

cided remain for centuries, and one that is easily detected the moment that it is met with. After leaving the Mandan village, I found the marks of their former residence about sixty miles below where they were then living, and from which they removed (from their own account) about sixty or eighty years since; and from the appearance of the number of their lodges, I should think, that at that recent date there must have been three times the number that were living when I was amongst them. Near the mouth of the big Shienne river, two hundred miles below their last location, I found still more ancient remains, and in as many as six or seven other places between that and the mouth of the Ohio, and each one, as I visited them, appearing more and more ancient, convincing me that these people, wherever they might have come from, have gradually made their moves up the banks of the Missouri, to the place where I visited them.

For the most part of this distance, they have been in the heart of the great Sioux country, and being looked upon by the Sioux as trespassers, have been continually warred upon by this numerous tribe, who have endeavored to extinguish them, as they have been endeavoring to do ever since our first acquaintance with them; but who being always fortified by a strong piquet or stockade, have successfully withstood the assaults of their enemies, and preserved the remnant of their tribe. Through this sort of gauntlet they have run, in passing through the countries of these warlike and hostile tribes.

It may be objected to this, perhaps, that the Riccarees and the Minatarees build their wigwams in the same way, but this proves nothing for the Minatarees are Crows, from the northwest; and by their own showing fled to



the Mandans for protection, and forming their villages by the side of them, built their wigwams in the same manner.

The Riccarees have been a very small tribe, far inferior to the Mandans, and by the traditions of the Mandans, as well as from the evidence of the first explorers, Lewis and Clark, and others, have lived, until quite lately, on terms of intimacy with the Mandans, whose villages they have successively occupied as the Mandans have moved and vacated them, as they are now doing, since disease has swept the whole of the Mandans away.

Whether my derivation of the word Mandan from Madawgwys be correct or not, I will pass it over to the world at present merely as presumptive proof, for want of better, which perhaps, this inquiry may elicit; and at the same time, I offer the Welsh word Mandon (the wood-roof, a species of madder used as a red dye) as the name that might possibly have been applied by the Welsh neighbors to these people on account of their very ingenious mode of giving the beautiful red and other dyes to the porcupine quills with which they garnish their dresses. In their own language they called themselves See-pohs-ke-nu-mah-kee (the people of the pheasants) which was probably the name of the primitive stock, before they were mixed with any other people; and to have got such a name, it is natural to suppose that they must have come from a country where pheasants existed, which cannot be found short of reaching the timbered country at the base of the Rocky mountains, some six or eight hundred miles west of the Mandans, or the forests of Indiana and Ohio, some hundreds of miles to the south and east of where they last lived.

The above facts, together with the one which they repeatedly related to me, and which I have before alluded to, that they had often been to the hill of the Red Pipe Stone, and that they once lived near it, carry conclusive evidence, I think, that they formerly occupied a country much farther to the south; and that they have repeatedly changed their locations, until they reached the spot of their last residence, where they have met with their final misfortune. And as evidence in support of my opinion that they came from the banks of the Ohio, and have brought with them some of the customs of the civilized people who erected those ancient fortifications, I am able to say, that the numerous specimens of pottery which have been taken from the graves and tumuli about those ancient works, (many of which may be seen now, in the Cincinnati Museum, and some of which, my own donations, and which have so much surprised the inquiring world) were to be seen in great numbers in the use of the Mandans; and scarcely a day in the summer, when the visitor to their village would not see the women at work with their hands and fingers, moulding them from black clay, into vases, cups, pitchers, and pots, and baking them in their little kilns in the sides of the hill, or under the bank of the river.

In addition to this art, which I am sure belongs to no other tribe on the continent, these people have also, as a secret with themselves, the extraordinary art of manufacturing a very beautiful and lasting kind of blue glass beads, which they wear on their necks in great quantities, and decidedly value them above all others that are brought amongst them by the Fur Traders.

This secret is not only one that the Traders did not introduce amongst them, but one that they cannot learn from them; and at the same time, beyond a doubt, an art that has been introduced amongst them by some civilized people, as it is as yet unknown to other Indian tribes in that vicinity or elsewhere. Of this interesting fact, Lewis and Clark have given an account thirty-three years ago, at a time when no Traders or other white people had been amongst the Mandans, to have taught them so curious an art.

The Mandan canoes which are altogether different from those of all other tribes, are exactly the Welsh caracle, made of raw hides, the skins of buffaloes, stretched underneath a frame made of willow or other boughs and shaped nearly round, like a tub; which the woman carries on her head from her wigwam to the water's edge, and having stepped into it, stands in front, and propels it by dipping her paddle forward and drawing it to her instead of paddling by the side.

How far these extraordinary facts may go in the estimation of the reader, with numerous others I have mentioned in volume 1, whilst speaking of Mandans, of their various complexions, colors of hair, and blue and grey eyes, towards establishing my opinion as a sound theory, I cannot say; but this much I can safely aver, that at the moment I first saw these people, I was so struck with the peculiarity of their appearance, that I was under the instant conviction that they were an amalgam of a native with some civilized race; and from what I have seen of them, and of the remains on the Missouri and Ohio rivers, I feel fully convinced that these people have emigrated from the latter stream; and that they have, in

the manner that I have already stated, with many of their customs, been preserved from the almost total destruction of the bold colonists of Madawe, who, I believe, settled upon and occupied for a century or so, the rich and fertile banks of the Ohio.

III

THE ISLAND OF ATLANTIS

[Windsor's Narrative and Critical History of the United States, Volume 1, Pages 15-21]

The story of Atlantis, by its own interest and the skill of its author, has made by far the deepest impression. Plato, having given in the Republic a picture of the ideal political organization, the state, sketched in the Timæus the history of creation, and the origin and development of mankind; in the Critias he apparently intended to exhibit the action of two types of political bodies involved in a life and death contest. The latter dialogue was unfinished, but its purport had been sketched in the opening of Timæus. Critias there relates "a strange tale but certainly true as Solon declared, which had come down in his family from his ancestor Dropidas, a near relative of Solon. When Solon was in Egypt he fell into talk with an aged priest of Sais, who said to him: 'Solon, Solon, you Greeks are all children,—there is not one old man in Greece. You have no traditions, and know of but one deluge, whereas there have been many destructions of mankind, both by flood, and fire. Egypt alone has escaped them, and in Egypt alone is ancient history recorded; you are ignorant of your own past. For long before



BEAUMARIS VILLAGE



ENTRANCE TO BEAUMARIS CASTLE

21

Deucalion, nine thousand years ago, there was an Athens founded, like Sais, by Athena; a city rich in power and wisdom, famed for mighty deeds, the greatest of which was this. At that time there lay opposite the columns of Hercules, in the Atlantic, which was then navigable, an island larger than Libya and Asia together, from which sailors could pass to other islands, and so to the continent. The sea in front of the straits is indeed but a small harbor; that which lay beyond the island, however, is worthy of the name, and the land which surrounds that greater sea may be truly called the continent. In this island of Atlantis had grown up a mighty power, whose kings were descended from Poseidon, and had extended their sway over many islands and over a portion of the great continent; even Libya up to the gates of Egypt and Europe as far as Tyrrhenia, submitted to their sway. Ever harder they pressed upon the other nations of the known world seeking the subjugation of the whole. Then O Solon, did the strength of your republic become clear to all men, by reason of her courage and force. Foremost in the arts of war, she met the invader at the head of Greece; abandoned by her allies she triumphed alone over the western foe; delivering from the yoke all the nations within the columns. But afterwards came a day and night of great floods and earthquakes; the earth engulfed all the Athenians who were capable of bearing arms, and Atlantis disappeared, swallowed by the waves; hence it is that this sea is no longer navigable from the vast mud-shoals formed by the vanished island.' This talk so impressed Solon that he meditated an epic on the subject, but on his return, stress of public business prevented his design. In the Critias the empire and chief city of

Atlantis is described with wealth of detail, and the descent of the royal family from Atlas, son of Poseidon, and a nymph of the island, is set forth. In the midst of a council upon Olympus, where Zeus, in true epic style, was revealing to the gods his designs concerning the approaching war, the dialogue breaks off."

Such is the talk of Atlantis. Read in Plato, the nature and meaning of the narrative seem clear, but the commentators, ancient and modern, have made wild work. The voyage of Odysseus has grown marvelously in extent since he abandoned the sea; Io has found the pens of the learned more potent goads than Hera's gadfly; but the travels of Atlantis have been even more extraordinary. No region has been so remote, no land so opposed by location, extent, or history to the words of Plato, but that some acute investigator has found in it the origin of the lost island. It has been identified with Africa, with Spitzbergen, with Palestine. The learned Latreille convinced himself that Persia best fulfilled the conditions of the problem; the more than learned Rudbeck ardently supported the claims of Sweden through three folios. In such a search America could not be overlooked. Gomara, Guillaume de Postel, Wytfliet, are among those who have believed that this continent was Atlantis; Sanson in 1669, and Vaugondy in 1762, ventured to issue a map, upon which the division of that island among the sons of Neptune was applied to America, and the outskirts of the lost continent were extended to New Zealand. Such work, of course, needs no serious consideration. Plato is our authority, and Plato declares that Atlantis lay not far west from Spain, and that it disappeared some 8,000 years before his day. An inquiry into

the truth or meaning of the record as it stands is quite justifiable, and has been several times undertaken, with divergent results. Some, notably Paul Gaffarel and Ignatius Donnelly, are convinced that Plato merely adapted to his purpose a story which Solon had actually brought from Egypt and which was in all essentials true. Corroboration of the existence of such an island in the Atlantic is found, according to these writers, in the physical conformation of the Atlantic basin, and in marked resemblance between the flora, fauna, civilization and language of the old and new worlds, which demand for their explanation the prehistoric existence of just such a bridge as Atlantis would have supplied. The Atlantic islands are the loftiest peaks and plateaus of the submerged islands. In the widely spread deluge myths Mr. Donnelly finds strong confirmation of the final cataclysm. He places in Atlantis that primitive culture which M. Bailly sought in the highlands of Asia, and President Warren refers to the North Pole. Space fails for a proper examination of the matter but these ingenious arguments remain somewhat top-heavy when all is said. The argument from ethnological resemblance is of all arguments the weakest in the hands of advocates. It is of value only when wielded by men of judicial temperament who can weigh differences against likenesses, and allow for the narrow range of nature's moulds. The existence of the ocean plateaus revealed by the soundings of the "Dolphin" and the "Challenger" prove nothing as to their having been once raised above the waves; the most of the Atlantic islands are sharply cut off from them. Even granting the pre-historic migrations of plants and animals between Europe and America, as we grant it between America and Asia, it does not

follow that it took place across mid-ocean, and it would still be a long step from the botanic "bridge" and elevated "ridge" to the island empire of Plato. In short, the conservative view advocated by Longinus, that the story was designed by Plato as a literary ornament and a philosophic illustration, is no less probable to-day than when it was suggested in the schools of Alexandria. Atlantis is a literary myth, belonging with Utopia, the New Atlantis, and the *Orbis alter et idem* of Bishop Hall.

IV

**THE TRADITION OF PRINCE MADOC OF WALES IN AMERICA
ABOUT 1170**

[Bryant and Gay's *History of the United States*, Volume 1, Pages 66-70]

The tradition that America was discovered about the year 1170 by a Welsh prince named Madog, or Madoc, is still more circumstantial and attempts to support it by later evidence have been made from time to time for the last two hundred years. Even so cautious and judicial a critic as Humboldt says in allusion to it: "I do not share the scorn with which national traditions are too often treated and am of the opinion that with more research the discovery of facts, entirely unknown, would throw much light on many historical problems."

Certainly we are not to forget the distinction between a tradition and an invention; it is impossible to establish the one, and, as a lie can never be made the truth, it is not worth repeating; but the other is an honest relation, accepted as such by those who first repeated it, and which may yet be sustained by evidence. This tradition rela-

ting to Madoc had, no doubt, some actual basis of truth, however much it may have been misapprehended; the evidence adduced from time to time in support of it has been believed by many, and is curious and entertaining; the tradition itself in its original baldness has found a place in historical narrative for three hundred years; for each and all of these reasons it demands brief consideration.

The story was first related in Caradoc's "History of Wales" published by Mr. David Powell, in 1584. Caradoc's history, however, came down only to 1157, and Humphrey Llwyd (Llyod) who translated it, added the later story of Madoc. Llyod received it from Guttun Owen, a bard who about the year 1480, copied the registers of current events which, as late as the year 1270, were kept in the abbeys of Conway, North Wales, and Strat Flur, South Wales, and compared together every three years by the bards belonging to the two houses. Another bard, Cynfrig ab Gronow, referred to the tradition of western discovery by Madoc about the same time with Owen; and another allusion to it is claimed in the following lines, literally translated, written three years earlier by Sir Meredyth ab Rhy:

"On a Happy Hour, I, on the water
Of manners mild, the Huntsman will be,
Madog bold of pleasing Countenance,
Of the true Lineage of Owen Gwyned.
I coveted not Land, my ambition was,
Not great wealth, but the seas."

This may certainly be accepted as conclusive evidence, at least, that the mild-mannered and good-looking prince was fond of the sea; but it is difficult to find anything else in it that can be supposed to refer to the discovery

of America. The only real authorities may properly be considered as reduced to two—the bards Guttun Owen and Cynfrig ab Gronow.

The story is briefly this: When Owen Gwynnedd, Prince of North Wales, was gathered to his fathers, a strife arose among his sons as to who should reign in his stead. The eldest legitimate son, Edward, was put aside as unfit to govern "because of the maime upon his face," he was known as "Edward with the broken-nose," and the government was seized by Howel who was illegitimate, "a base son begotten of an Irish woman." But the next brother, David, refusing allegiance to this Howel, and civil war followed. At length the usurper was killed in battle, and the rightful heritage established, David holding the reins of government as regent till the son of Edward, eldest brother, was of age. In this contention, Madoc took no part, but endeavored to escape from it; which inasmuch as it was a struggle for the lineal succession of his family, was not much to his credit. Leaving his brothers (about 1170) to fight it out among them, he got together a fleet and put to sea in search of adventures. He sailed westward, leaving Ireland to the North, which it may be remarked, is nearly the only thing he could do in sailing from Wales, unless he laid his course northward through the Irish Sea. But at length he came to an unknown country, where the natives differed from any people he had ever seen before, and all things were strange and new. Seeing that this land was pleasant and fertile, he put on shore and left behind most of those in his ships and returned to Wales.

Coming among his friends again, after so eventful a voyage, he told them of the fair and extensive region he

had found; there, he assured them, they could live in peace and plenty, instead of cutting each other's throats for the possession of a rugged district of rocks and mountains. The advantages he offered were so obvious, or his eloquence so persuasive that enough determined to go with him to fill ten ships. There is no account of their ever having returned to Wales; but on the contrary, it is said "they followed the manners of the land they came to, and used the language they found there,"—a statement which, if true, not only proves that they did not return, but that some intercourse was preserved with their native land. Their numbers, nevertheless, must have been sufficient to have formed a considerable colony, and if, as the narrative asserts, the new country "was void of inhabitants" (meaning probably that it was only sparsely peopled) it is difficult to believe that they could have become so entirely assimilated to the savages as to lose their own customs and their own tongue.

Moreover, if such were the fact, it destroys all other evidence which was supposed to be subsequently found, of the existence of such a colony. That supposed evidence is, that a tribe of Indians of light complexion and speaking the old British language, was found within the present limits of the United States in the seventeenth century, and the traces of such a people were still evident at a quite recent period.

The earliest testimony on this point is a letter to Dr. Thomas Llyod of Pennsylvania, and by him transmitted to his brother, Mr. C. H. S. Llyod in Wales. The letter purported to have been written by the Rev. Morgan Jones and was dated New York, March 10, 1685-6, more than half a century before its publication in the Magazine.

The Rev. Mr. Jones declares that in the year 1660, twenty-five years before the date of the letter, he was sent as chaplain of an expedition from Virginia to Port Royal, South Carolina, where he remained eight months. Suffering much from want of food, he and five others at the end of that time started to return to Virginia by land. On the way they were taken prisoners by an Indian tribe, the Tuscaroras, and condemned to die. On hearing this sentence, Mr. Jones, being much dejected, exclaimed, in the British (*i. e.* Welsh) tongue, "Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the head like a dog?" Immediately he was seized around the waist by a War Captain, belonging to the Doegs, and assured in the same language that he should not die. He was immediately taken to the "Emperor of the Tuscaroras" and with his five companions, ransomed. The Providential Doeg took them to his own village, where they were kindly welcomed and hospitably entertained. For four months, Mr. Jones remained among these Indians, often conversing with them, and preaching to them three times a week in the British tongue. The conclusion is that these Indians were descendants of the Welsh colonists under Madoc.



RUTHIN CASTLE



HAWARDEN CASTLE

nd

V

THE ISLAND OF ATLANTIS AND THE ABORIGINES
OF AMERICA

[Bancroft's Native Races, Volume 5, Pages 125-132]

Foremost among those who have held and advocated this opinion stands the Abbe Brasseur de Bourbourg. This distinguished Americaniste goes farther than his fellows, however, in that he attempts to prove that all civilization originated in America, or the Occident, instead of in the Orient, as has always been supposed. This theory he endeavors to substantiate not so much by the Old World traditions as by those of the New World, using as his principal authority an anonymous manuscript written in the Nahua language; which he entitles the Codex Chimalpopoca. This work purports to be on the face of it a "History of the Kingdoms of Calhuacan and Mexico" and as such it served Brasseur as almost his sole authority for the Toltec period of his *Historie des nations Civilisees*. At that time the learned Abbe regarded the Atlantis theory, at least so far as it referred to any part of America, as an absurd conjecture resting upon no authentic basis. In a later work, however, he more than retracts this assertion; from a skeptic he is suddenly transformed into a most devout and enthusiastic believer, and attempts to prove by a most elaborate course of reasoning that that which he before doubted is indubitably true. The cause of this sudden change was a strange one. As by constant study, he became more profoundly learned in the literature of ancient America, the Abbe discovered that he had entirely misinterpreted the Codex

Chamalpopoca. The annals recorded so plainly upon the face of the mystic pages were intended only for the understanding of the vulgar; the stories of the kings, the history of the kingdoms, were allegorical and not to be considered literally, deep below the surface lay the true historic record—hidden from all save the priests and the wise men of the West—of the mighty cataclysm which submerged the cradle of all civilization. Excepting a dozen, perhaps of the kings who preceded Montezuma, it is not a history of men, but of American nature, that must be sought for in the Mexican manuscripts and paintings. The Toltecs, so long regarded as an ancient civilized race, destroyed in the Eleventh century by their enemies, are really telluric forces, agents of subterranean fire, the veritable smiths of Orcus and of Lemnos, of which Tollan was the symbol, the true masters of civilization and art, who by the mighty convulsions which they caused communicated to men a knowledge of minerals.

I know of no man better qualified than was Brasseur de Bourbourg to penetrate the obscurity of American primitive history. His familiarity with the Nahuatl and Central American languages, his indefatigable industry and general erudition, rendered him eminently fit for such a task, and every word written by such a man on such a subject is entitled to respectful consideration. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the Abbe was often rapt away from the truth by excess of enthusiasm, and the reader of his wild and fanciful speculations cannot but regret that he has not the opportunity or ability to intelligently criticise by comparison the French savant's interpretation of the original documents. At all events, it is certain that he honestly believed in the truth of his

own discovery, for when he admitted that, in the light of his better knowledge, the Toltec history, as recorded in the Codex Chimalpopoca, was an allegory, that no such people as the Toltecs ever existed, in fact,—and thereby rendered valueless his own history of the Toltec period, he made a sacrifice of labor, unique, I think, in the annals of literature.

Brasseur's theory supposes that the continent of America occupied originally the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, and extended in the form of a peninsula so far across the Atlantic that the Canary Islands may have formed part of it. All this extended portion of the continent was many ages ago engulfed by a tremendous convulsion of nature, of which traditions and written records have been preserved by many American peoples. Yucatan, Honduras, and Guatemala were also submerged, but the continent subsequently rose sufficiently to rescue them from the ocean. The testimony of many modern men of science tends to show that there existed at one time a vast extent of dry land between Europe and America.

* * * * *

It only remains now to speak of the theory which ascribes an autochthonic origin to the Americans. The time is not long past when such a supposition would have been regarded as impious, and even at this day its advocates may expect discouragement if not rebuke from certain quarters. It is nevertheless an opinion worthy of the gravest consideration, and one which, if we may judge by the recent results of scientific investigation, may eventually prove to be scientifically correct. In the preceding pages, it will have been remarked that no theory of a foreign origin has been proven, or even fairly sustained.

The particulars in which the Americans are shown to resemble any given people of the Old World are insignificant in number and importance when compared with the particulars in which they do not resemble that people.

As I have remarked elsewhere, it is not impossible that stray ships of many nations have at various times and in various places been cast upon the American coast, or even that adventurous spirits, who were familiar with the old-time stories of a western land, may have designedly sailed westward until they reached America, and have never returned to tell the tale. The result of such desultory visits would be exactly what has been noticed, but erroneously attributed to immigration en masse. The strangers, were their lives spared, would settle among the people, and impart their ideas and knowledge to them. The knowledge would not take any very definite shape or have any very decided effect, for the reason that the sailors and adventurers who would be likely to land in America under such circumstances would not be thoroughly versed in the arts or sciences; still they would know many things that were unknown to their captors, or hosts, and would doubtless be able to suggest many improvements. This, then would account for many Old World ideas and customs that have been detected here and there in America, while at the same time the difficulty which arises from the fact that the resemblances, though striking are yet very few, would be satisfactorily avoided. The foreigners, if adopted by the people they fell among, would of course marry women of the country and beget children, but it cannot be expected that the physical peculiarities so transmitted would be perceptible after a generation or two of re-marrying with the aboriginal stock.

At the same time, I think it just as probable that the analogies referred to are mere coincidences, such as might be found among any civilized or semi-civilized people of the earth. It may be argued that the various American tribes and nations differ so materially from each other as to render it extremely improbable that they are derived from one original stock, but, however this may be, the difference can scarcely be greater than that which apparently exists between many of the Aryan branches.

Hence it is that many not unreasonably assume that the Americans are autochthons until there is some good ground for believing them to be of exotic origin. To express belief, however, in a theory incapable of proof appears to me idle. Indeed, such belief is not belief; it is merely acquiescing in or accepting a hypothesis or tradition until the contrary is proved. No one at the present day can tell the origin of the Americans; they may have come from any one, or from all the hypothetical sources enumerated in the foregoing pages, and here the question must rest until we have more light upon the subject.

VI

LETTER OF GEORGE CHROCHAN TO GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

[Burder's Welch Indians in America, Pages 11-13]

Winchefter, August 24, 1753.

May It Please Your Honor:

Laft year I underftood, by Col. Lomax, that your Honour would be glad to have fome information of a nation of people fettled to the weft on a large river that runs to the Pacific Ocean, commonly called the Welch

Indians. As I had an opportunity of gathering some account of those people I make bold, at the instance of Col. Creffup, to send you the following accounts. As I formerly had an opportunity of being acquainted with several French Traders, and particularly with one that was bred up from his infancy amongst the Western Indians, on the west side of the lake Erie, he informed me, that the first intelligence the French had of them was by some Indians settled at the back of New Spain; who, in their way home, happened to lose themselves, and fell down on this settlement of people which they took to be French, by their talking very quick; so, on their return to Canada, they informed the Governor, that there was a large settlement of French on a river that ran to the sun's setting; that they were no Indians, although they lived within themselves as Indians; for they could not perceive that they traded with any people or had any trade to sea, for they had no boats or ships as they could see and though they had guns amongst them, yet they were so old, and so much out of order, that they made no use of them, but hunted with their bows and arrows for the support of their families.

On this account, the Governor of Canada determined to send a party to discover whether they were French or not, and had 300 men raised for that purpose. But when they were ready to go, the Indians would not go with them, but told the Governor that if he sent but a few men, they would go and show them the country; on which the Governor sent three young priests, who dressed themselves in Indian dresses and went with those Indians to the place where these people were settled, and found them to be Welch. They brought some old Welch Bibles

to satisfy the Governor that they were there, and they told the Governor that these people had a great aversion to the French; for they found by them, that they had been at first settled at the mouth of the river Mississippi, but had been almost cut off by the French there. So that a small remnant of them escaped back to where they were then settled, but had since become a numerous people. The Governor of Canada, on this account, determined to raise an army of French Indians to go and cut them off; but as the French have been embarrassed in war with several other nations nearer home, I believe they have laid that project aside. The man who furnished me with this account told me, that the messengers, who went to make this discovery, were gone sixteen months before they returned to Canada, so that those people must live at a great distance from thence due west. This is the most particular account I ever could get of those people as yet. I am,

Your Honour's

Most Obedient Humble Servant

(Signed) GEORGE CHROCHAN.

N. B. Governor Dinwiddie agreed with three or four of the back traders to go in quest of the Welch Indians, and promised to give them 500 for that purpose; but he was recalled before they could set out on that expedition.

VII

SPEECH OF CARACTACUS BEFORE THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS

[Annals of Tacitus, Book 12, Chapter 36-37]

Caractacus himself sought the protection of Cartismandua queen of the Brigantes, but as is generally the case, adversity can find no sure refuge; he was delivered up in chains to the conquerors, in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Britain. Whence his renown overpassing the limits of the isles, spread over the neighboring provinces, and became celebrated even in Italy, where all longed to behold the man who, for so many years, had defied the Roman arms; not even at Rome was the name of Caractacus unassociated with fame; and the emperor while exalting his own glory, added to that of the vanquished. For the people were summoned to see him, as a rare spectacle; and the prætorian bands stood under arms in the field before their camp. Then first the servants and followers of the British king moved in procession, and the trappings and collars, and all he had taken in wars with his neighbors, were borne along; next came his brothers, his wife and daughter; and last himself, attracting the gaze of all. All the rest descended to humiliating supplications under the impulse of fear; but Caractacus, who seemed not to solicit compassion either by dejected looks or pitiful expressions, as soon as he was placed before the imperial tribunal, thus spoke:

“If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my lineage was noble and my successes brilliant, I should have entered this city as a friend, rather than as a captive; nor would you then have disdained to receive a



WELSH POOL VILLAGE



POWIS CASTLE



prince descended from illustrious ancestors, and the ruler of many nations, into terms of alliance. My present lot, as it is to me ignominious and degrading, so it is a matter of glory and triumph to you. I had men and arms, horses and riches; where is the wonder if I was unwilling to part with them? If you Romans aim at extending your dominion over all mankind, it does not follow that all men should take the yoke upon them. Had I at once been delivered into your hands a prisoner at discretion, neither had my lot nor your glory been thus signal. If you inflict punishment upon me, the affair will sink into oblivion; but if you preserve my life, I shall form an imperishable record of your clemency."

Claudius upon this pardoned him, with his wife and his brothers. The prisoners released from their chains, did homage to Agrippa also, who at a short distance occupied another throne, in full view of the assembly with the same expressions of praise and gratitude as they had employed to the emperor. A spectacle this, strange and unauthorized by the customs of our ancestors, for a woman to preside over the Roman ensigns. She herself, claimed to be a partner in the empire which her ancestors had acquired.

VIII

DESCRIPTION OF THE WELSH ACCORDING TO THE
HISTORIAN GIRALDUS

[Knight's Popular History of England, Volume 1, Pages 278-9]

Light and active, hardy rather than strong, the nation universally is trained to arms. Flesh is consumed by the people more than bread with milk, cheese and butter. With this pastoral character, having little agriculture, they are always ready for war; and they have neither commerce nor manufactures. They fish with the little wicker boats which they carry to their rivers. Lightly armed with small breastplates, helmets and shields, they attack their mailed foes with lance and arrow. They have some cavalry, but the marshy nature of the soil compels the greater number to fight on foot. Abstemious both in food and drink, frugal and capable of bearing great privations, they watch their enemies through the cold and stormy nights, always bent upon defence or plunder. Their hospitality is universal; for the houses of all are common to all. The conversation of the young women, and the music of the harp, give a charm to their humble fare; and no jealousy interferes with the freedom with which a stranger is welcomed by the females of the household. When the evening meal is finished, a bed of rushes is placed in the side of the room, and all without distinction lie down to sleep. The men and women cut their hair close round to the ears and eyes; and the men shave all their beard except their whiskers. Of their white teeth, they are particularly careful. They are of an acute intellect, and excel in whatever studies they pur-

sue. They have three musical instruments, the harp, the pipe, and the crowd; and their performances are executed with such celerity and delicacy of modulation, that they produce a perfect consonance from the rapidity of seemingly discordant touches. Their bards, in their rhymed songs, and their orators, in their set speeches, make use of alliteration in preference to all other ornament. In their musical concerts they do not sing in unison, but in many different parts; and it is unusual to hear a simple melody well sung. The heads of families think it is their duty to amuse their guests by their facetiousness. The highest, as well as the lowest of the people, have a remarkable boldness and confidence in speaking and answering; and their natural warmth of temper is distinguished from the English coldness of disposition. They have many soothsayers among them. Noble birth, and generous descent, they esteem above all things. Even the common people retain genealogy. They revenge with vehemence any injuries which may tend to the disgrace of their blood; whether an ancient or a recent affront. They are universally devout, and they show a greater respect than other nations to churches and ecclesiastical persons, and especially revere relics of saints. Giraldus, having described at much length the particulars which redound to the credit of the British nation (for so he calls the Welch) then proceeds to those things which pass the line of encomium. The people, he says, are inconstant, and regardless of any covenant. They commit acts of plunder, not only against foreigners, and hostile nations, but against their own countrymen. Bold in their warlike onsets, they cannot bear a repulse, and trust to flight for safety; but defeated one day, they are ready to resume the

conflict on the next. Their ancient national custom of dividing property amongst all the brothers of a house leads to perpetual contests for possessions, and frequent fratricides. They constantly intermarry within the forbidden degrees, uniting themselves to their own people, presuming on their own superiority of blood and family; and they rarely marry without previous cohabitation. Their churches have almost as many parties and parsons as there are principal men in the parish; the sons after the decease of the father, succeed to the ecclesiastical benefices, not by election, but by assumed hereditary right. Finally, in setting forth how this people is to be subdued, and preserved to the English crown, Giraldus says that, from the pride and obstinacy of their dispositions, they will not, like other nations, subject themselves to the dominion of one lord and king. How long a time it was before that subjection was even imperfectly accomplished, will be seen as we proceed in our narrative.

IX**THE TRADITION OF THE WELSH IN AMERICA IN THE
TWELFTH CENTURY SOMETHING MORE
THAN MERE CONJECTURE**

[The Universal History, Volume 20, Pages 193-4]

That the Welch contributed towards the peopling of America, is intimated by some good authors; and ought to be considered as a notion supporting more than bare conjectures. Powell, in his history of Wales, informs us, that a war happening in that country for the succession, upon the death of their prince Owen Guinneth, A. D.

1170, and a bastard having carried it from his lawful fons, one of the latter, named Madoc, put to sea for new discoveries; and sailing west from Spain, he discovered a new world of wonderful beauty and fertility. But finding this uninhabited, upon his return, he carried thither a great number of people from Wales. To this delightful country he made three voyages, according to Hakluyt. The places he discovered seem to be Virginia, New England, and the adjacent countries. In confirmation of this, Peter Martyr says, that the natives of Virginia and Guatemala, celebrated the memory of one Madoc, as a great and ancient hero; and hence it came to pass, that modern travelers have found several old British words among the inhabitants of North America. The same author mentions the words *Matoc-Zunga* and *Mat-Inga*, as being in use among the Guatemallians, in which there is a plain allusion to Madoc, and that with the *d* softened into *t*, according to the Welch manner of pronunciation. Nay, Bishop Nicolson seems to believe, that the Welch language makes a considerable part of several of the American tongues. According to a famous British antiquary, the Spaniards borrowed their double L (LL) from the people of Mexico, who received it from the Welch, and the Dutch brought a bird with a white head from the Straights of Magellan called by the natives Penguin; which word, in the old British, signifies White-head, and therefore seems originally to have come from Wales. This must be allowed an additional argument, to omit others that occur, in favor of Madoc's three American expeditions.

REVEREND JOHN WILLIAMS, LL. D.

John Williams, an eminent dissenting minister and scholar, was born in Wales in 1726 and died in 1798. He was the author of several learned works, and among them "An Inquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madoc about the Year 1170," which was published in London in 1791. The next year, 1792, he published a second work entitled "Further Observations" on the same subject. I have had occasion to refer to Doctor Williams in the text, and deeming him the best authority in favor of the Welsh tradition and entitled to further notice, I shall make the following additional extracts from both of his works:

X**THE WELSH A MARITIME PEOPLE**

[From *The Inquiry, etc.*, Pages 59-62]

The reason for which he (Cæsar) invaded this island was, as he says, because the Britons afflicted the Gauls by Land and Sea. Their Naval Power must have been very considerable, when Vincula dare Oceano, and Britannos subjugare, were convertible Terms. Had not the British Naval Power been then formidable, this would not have been said.

Their maritime force, it is true, was much weakened by Cæsar; yet in no long time it seems to have been considerably restored, as appears from the conduct of later Emperors. Had their navy, as hath been asserted by some writers, consisted only of small fishing Boats, now

in the Principality called Coracles, they could not have afforded such assistance to the Gauls, as to bring upon them the Roman power. As to unskillfulness, it doth not appear from History, that this, with truth, could be said of them.

I know not upon what authority, it is said by his Lordship that the Britons were less expert Mariners than any other in Europe, for they seem to have had connections in the way of Commerce with very distant nations, before Julius Cæsar; indeed a very considerable and extensive trade with Phœnicians, and others.

For these reasons, I am inclined to believe that the Naval power of the Britons was considerable before the coming of the Romans. As to succeeding Times, when the Britons were driven into Wales, a Country with an extensive Sea Coast, they had little to subsist upon, but a scanty Agriculture, and rich Fisheries; so that very great Numbers of them were compelled by necessity to pursue a Seafaring Life.

The strongest objection to the Truth of this event, which is urged by his Lordship and by others, is the great Improbability that such a voyage could be performed without the assistance of the Mariner's Compass, not then discovered. This discovery was made about the year 1300; others say, by Behaim above mentioned, about 100 Years later. In answer to this Objection, it may be observed that previously to Madog's Voyage, we read of several others, which appear to me fully as improbable. It is generally understood that the Phœnicians, Grecians, &c., were acquainted with, and failed to Britain, and other countries, for Tin and Lead, and unto the Baltic Sea for Amber; voyages which seem as

difficult as that of Madog's and a longer Navigation. It was hardly possible for the Britons not to learn how to navigate Ships, when they saw how it was done by others.

The return of our Prince to North Wales, and back again to his colony, is the most difficult to be accounted for, in the whole story. However, I apprehend, that this is not altogether impossible.

Let it be observed that the space of Time in which these voyages of Madog's were performed is nowhere mentioned. They might have taken up twenty years or more. Madog, on his return to Wales, might have sailed Northward by the American Coast, till he came to a situation where the light of the sun at noon was the same, at the Season, as it was in his Native country, and then sailing Eastward (the Polar Star, long before observed would prevent his sailing on a wrong point) he might safely return to Britain. The experiences he derived from his first Voyage would enable him to join his Companions whom he had left behind.

That there are strong currents in the Atlantic Ocean is well known. On his return to North Wales, Madog might fall into that current, which it is said, runs from the West Indian Islands Northward to Cape Sable in Nova Scotia, where interrupted by the land, it runs Eastward towards Britain.

There is a Tradition that a Captain of a Ship dined at Boston, in New England, on a Sunday, and on the following Sunday dined at his own House in Penzance, Cornwall. This is by no means impossible, for with favourable Winds and strong currents, a ship may run above 14 miles in an Hour.



CAERNARVON VILLAGE



CAERNARVON CASTLE

nd

The late celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, in a letter to a friend well known in the literary world, which I heard read, said that he was fully convinced that there was such a current from West to East, and that he did not think the Captain's remarkable expedition impossible, nor even, altogether, improbable.

XI**CULTURE OF THE EARLY WELSH**

[From *The Enquiry*, etc., Pages 78-80]

From the earliest accounts we have of the ancient Britons they seem to have been the best informed, and most enlightened of all the northern Nations in Europe. The speech of Caractacus addressed to the Emperor Claudius, and preserved by Tacitus, is a proof that good natural Sense and Literature, such as it was in that age, in some measure, flourished in Britain.

We have also in Cæsar several passages favourable to British learning; I see no reason, therefore, why British Writers should be treated with contempt.

The Scotch writers, especially of late years, have strained every nerve to establish the reputation of their ancient Authors. Ossian and Fingal are ostentatiously held out, as instances of superior merit and excellence; but the poor Britons are treated with disdain; as having no merit for imagination, or original Composition.

Taliesyn, a Welsh bard, who, as already observed, flourished about the middle of the 6th century, and who by way of eminence was called Pen Beirrd y Gorllewin, "Head of the Western bards," some of whose works are

come down to us; particularly, an ode, in Welch translated into Latin fapphic Verfe, by David Jones, Vicar of Llanfair, Duffryn Clwyd, Denbighshire; in 1580, Owen Cyfeiliog, and Gwalchmai in the 12th century; and many others, at different periods of distinguished merit, have appeared in Wales, some of whom have plainly alluded to Madogs' Adventures. For the Names, Times, and the Works of these bards, I refer to Mr. Evans' specimens of the ancient Welch bards, 1764. To Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels and to Mr. Warrington's History of Wales, p. 307, Edit. 1788.

XII

**INFORMATION IMPARTED BY GENERAL BOWLES,
A CHEROKEE CHIEF**

From Further Observations, etc., Pages 3-5

My worthy and ingenious friends, Mr. William Owen and Mr. Edward Williams, for several months past, have sent various particulars to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, relative to the Welch Indians.

Mr. Owen had two interviews with General Bowles and a Mr. Price the Cherokee chiefs, who lately left London; an account of which he obligingly communicated to me.

When Mr. Owen told the General the occasion of his waiting upon him that it was to enquire whether he knew anything of a tribe of Welch Indians he replied that he well did, and that they are called, "the Padoucas, or White Indians." (Mr. Owen, previous to his interview with Mr. Bowles, thought that the Padoucas were the Welsh tribe.) They are called "The White Indians" on

account of their complexions. When a map was laid before him, on which that name was inscribed, he said, these are the people, and shewed the limits of their country. He said that in general they were called the White Padoucas, but those who live in the northern parts of their country, are called the "Black Padoucas." On being asked the reason, he replied "because they are a mixture of the White Padoucas, and other Indians; and therefore are of a darker complexion. The White Padoucas are as you are (Mr. Owens is a Welchman) having some of them sandy, some red, and some black hair." He also said that they are very numerous, and one of the most warlike people on that Continent. When he was informed of the time and circumstances of Madog's Navigation, he said "They must have been as early as that period, otherwise they could not have increased to be so numerous a people." The General said that he had travelled their southern boundaries from one side to the other, but that he had never entered into their country. He was of opinion that they first came to the Floridas, or about the mouths of the Mississippi; and finding that a low and rather a bad country, they pushed forward by degrees till they came to, and settled in the country where they now live in, it being a high and hilly country, but as fertile and delightful a spot as any in the world.

When he was asked the reason, why he thought them to be Welsh he replied, "A Welchman was with me at home for some time, who had been a Prisoner among the Spaniards, and worked in the Mines of Mexico; and by some means, he contrived to escape, got into the wilds, and made his way across the Continent, and eventually passed through the midst of the Padoucas, and at once

found himself with a people with whom he could converse and he staid there some time." Amongst other particulars he told me, "that they had several books, which were most religiously preserved in skins, and were considered by them as mysteries. These they believed gave an account from whence they came. These people told the Welchman that they had not seen a White man like themselves, who was a stranger, for a long time." This was the substance of General Bowles' information.

XIII

WHAT MORGAN JONES KNEW OF THE WELSH INDIANS

[From Further Observations, etc., Pages 10-11]

Mr. Jones also says that about the Year 1750, his father and family went to Pennsylvania, where he met with several Persons whom he knew in Wales; one in particular, with whom he had been intimate. This person had formerly lived in Pennsylvania, but then lived in North Carolina. Upon his return to Pennsylvania, the following year, to settle his affairs they met a second fate. Mr. Jones' friend told him that he was then very sure there were Welsh Indians; and gave for reason, that his House, in North Carolina, was situated on the great Indian Road to Charlestown, where he often lodged parties of them. In one of these parties, an Indian hearing the family speaking Welch began to jump and caper as if he had been out of his senses. Being asked what was the matter with him, he replied, "I know an Indian Nation who speak that language, and have learnt a little of it myself, by living among them"; and when examined, he was

found to have some knowledge of it. When asked where they lived, he said, "a great way beyond the Mississippi." Being promised a handsome reward he said that he would endeavor to bring some of them to that part of the Country but Mr. Jones soon afterwards returning to England, he never heard any more of the Indian.

XIV

MR. BINON'S ACCOUNT OF THE WELSH INDIANS

[From Further Observations, etc., Pages 11-13]

In the Gentleman's Magazine for July last, page 612, Mr. Edward Williams says that about twenty years ago he became acquainted with a Mr. Binon of Coyty in the county of Galmorgan, who had been absent from his native country about thirty years (in a letter I received from him since, he says that on further consideration he thinks it must have been several years longer). Mr. Binon said that he had been an Indian trader from Philadelphia, for several Years; that about the year 1750 he and five or six more penetrated much farther than usual to the westward of the Mississippi and found a Nation of Indians, who spoke the Welsh tongue. They had Iron among them, lived in stone built villages, and were better clothed than the other tribes. There were also ruinous buildings among them; one appeared like an Old Welch castle; another like a ruined church, etc. They showed Mr. Binon a book, in Manuscript, which they carefully kept, believing it to contain the mysteries of Religion. They told Mr. Binon that it was not very long since a Man had been among them who understood it.

This Man (whom they esteemed a prophet) told them that a people would some time visit them, and explain to them the mysteries in their book, which would make them completely happy. When they were informed, that Mr. Binon could not read it, they appeared very much concerned. They conducted him and his companions for many days thro' vast Deserts, and plentifully supplied them with provisions which the woods afforded, until they had brought them to a place they well knew; and at parting, they wept bitterly, and urgently entreated Mr. Binon to send a person to them who could interpret their book. On his return to Philadelphia, he related the story, and was informed that the inhabitants of the Welsh tract (in Pennsylvania) had some knowledge of them, and that some Welshmen had been among them."

A Gentleman in company with Messrs. Binon and Williams at that time, in a letter to me confirms the above account. He says that Mr. Binon declared that these Indians worshipped their book as God, but could not read it. They also said that thirty or forty of them sometimes visited the Ancient Britons settled on the Welsh Track in Pennsylvania. This circumstance, by the way, will help us to account for the interviews, which it is said have taken place between these Indians and the Europeans at different times. When Mr. Binon said that he came from Wales, they replied, "It was from thence that our Ancestors came, but we do not know in what part of the world Wales is."

XV

THE SPEECH OF MONTEZUMA TO HIS PEOPLE

[From Further Observations, etc., Pages 31-35]

In a letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, signed Columbus, inserted in the Public Advertiser, September 23rd, 1790, there are several very interesting facts and observations on this subject.

We are there told that Sebastian Cabot, about the year 1495, two years after the first voyage of Columbus, discovered Florida and Mexico and that he found on the different parts of the Coast, the descendants of the first British discoverers, who settled at Mexico about the year 1170. In the records of the Mexican Emperors, are set down the arrival and settlement of their great Progenitors, whom the unfortunate Montezuma describes in 1520, in a speech made to his subjects, after he had been taken prisoner by that monster of cruelty, Cortez:

“Kinmen, Friends, Countrymen and Subjects: You know I have been eighteen years your sovereign and your natural king, as my illustrious predecessors and fathers were before me, and all the descendants of my race, since we came from a far distant Northern Nation, whose tongue and manners we yet have partly preserved. I have been to you a father, Guardian, and a loving Prince, while you have been to me faithful subjects, and obedient servants.

“Let it be held in your remembrance, that you have a claim to a noble descent, because you have sprung from a race of Freemen and Heroes, who scorned to deprive the native Mexicans of their ancient liberties, but added to their rational Freedom, principles which do honour to human nature. Our divines have instructed you of our

natural descent from a people the most renowned upon earth for liberty and valour, because of all nations they were, as our first parents told us, the only un subdued people upon the earth, by that warlike nation, whose tyranny and ambition assumed the conquest of the world; but nevertheless, our great fore-fathers checked their ambition and fixed limits to their conquests, altho' but the inhabitants of a small island, and but few in number, compared to the ravagers of the earth, who attempted in vain to conquer our great, glorious and free forefathers, &c."

The author of the above account told me, that he had seen Montezuma's speech, in a Spanish manuscript, in the year 1748, when he arrived at Mexico, and that most probably, it is still extant.

I would here just observe that as the ancient Romans were the Conquerors alluded to, we may naturally suspect that Julius Cæsar's attempt on Britain, was rather unsuccessful, or at least not so brilliant as he cautiously endeavors to represent it.

The above spirited speech plainly shows that the Mexicans in 1520 looked upon themselves as the descendants of Freemen and Heroes, the only un subdued people upon Earth, who set limits to the Roman conquest though only the inhabitants of a small island in the north, and in comparison, few in number; and who taught them principles, which did honour to human nature, probably the principles of Christianity, which though miserably disfigured in 1170, yet were greatly superior to those of an enlightened savage people.

The above description remarkably and exactly answers to the Character, Manners and Principles of the Ancient Britons.



LLANRWST BRIDGE



LLANRWST CHURCH

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XVI

THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE OF LONDON

This magazine was the first to lay before the world one of the most important papers concerning the tradition of the Welsh under Prince Madoc in America in the Twelfth century. In the year 1740 it published in Volume 10, page 103, the letter of Reverend Morgan Jones of Virginia, who had lived with the Welsh Indians in North Carolina and talked with them and preached to them in the Welsh language. In after years it published many important articles on the same subject, and hence the following have been selected for insertion here.

William Owen's Account of the Welsh Indians

[Gentleman's Magazine, 1791, Volume 1, Page 329]

In the year 1170, Madawg, a younger son of Owen Gwynedd, prince of North Wales, observing a continued strife among his brethren for a scanty inheritance of barren rocks, determined to try his fortune in search of a more peaceful country. He accordingly fitted out two ships, and sailed westward, and discovered the southern shores of North America, as the event has proved. Leaving part of his followers there, he was enabled providentially to return to Europe; and on representing to his countrymen what had happened, so many of them were induced to share in his enterprise, that in his second emigration, he sailed nearly in the same direction, with ten ships, completely filled, but without being so fortunate as to fall in with them he had left behind in his

first voyage. There are good grounds to assert that Madawg, in this second voyage, fell in with the coast of the Carolinas; for the first discovery of the descendants of that emigration was made by the Rev. Mr. Morgan Jones, in 1685, who found them, or at least a part of them, up Pontigo river. In consequence of the European colonies spreading over that country, or for some other causes, they removed up the country to Kentucky, where evident traces of them have been lately found; such as the ruins of forts, millstones, earthen ware, etc. It is presumed that, as their situation was secluded, and not liable to be molested, they left it only in consequence of discovering a more inviting country; and none could be more so than where they finally settled. The center of the country of the Madawgwys, and where their villages are most numerous, is about 38 degrees north latitude, and 102 degrees west longitude of London; but they extend (possibly in detached communities) from about 37 degrees north latitude and 97 degrees west longitude. The general name of Cymry is not left among them, though they call themselves Madawgwys, Madogiaid, Madagiaint, and Madogian; names of the same import, meaning the people of Madawg. Hence the French travellers in Louisiana have called them Padoucas, Montocantes and other names bearing a similitude to what they call themselves, and by which they are known to the native Indians. From the country of the Madawgwys some of the rivers run eastward and others to the west; by the former they came into the Missouri, and so into the Mississippi, bringing with them skins, pickled buffalo-tongues, and other articles for traffic, and by the latter they have a communication with the Pacific ocean, from a great salt lake in

their country, down the Oregon, or the great river of the west, through the straits of Juan de Fuca, and other openings. The character of these insulated Cambrians, who are a numerous people, is that they are very warlike; are more civilized than the Indians; live in large villages in houses built of stone; are commodiously clad; use horses in hunting. They have iron, of which they could make tools, but have no fire-arms and they navigate the lake in large piraguas. Their government is on the feudal system, and their princes are considered as the direct descendants of Madawg.

William Owen's Further Account of the Welsh Indians

[Gentleman's Magazine, 1791, Volume 1, Page 397]

The accounts which were received prior to Mr. Bowles's communications had not furnished me with the name by which the Welch Indians were known; but, on comparing them together, I was fully of opinion that the Padoucas were those people; especially as the name was but a slight deviation in sound from Madawgwys, the real appellation which we may justly suppose they gave themselves. Therefore it made a very forcible impression on my mind, when the first thing Mr. Bowles said was, what they are called, the Padoucas, in confirmation of the idea I had formed, prior to any inquiry being made at all on the subject. And as to the most important point, whether the language spoken by those people was Welch, the proofs adduced were equally satisfactory and clear; there was, said Mr. B., a Welchman with me, at home, who escaped from the Spaniards in Mexico, by making his way across the Continent, passing through the country of the Padoucas,

where to his great surprize, he found himself with a people speaking his own language. He remained among them for some time, and found they had some books, which were wrapped up in skins, and religiously preserved, and considered to be some kind of mysteries, as there was a tradition that those things contained an account from whence they had come. That the Padoucas speak the Welch language is further confirmed by Mr. Price, one of the companions of Mr. Bowles, who was born amongst the Creeks.

He, after observing his being acquainted with Welch himself, declared that his father, who was a Welchman, had opportunities of frequent interviews, and conversed with the Padoucas in his native language, as he had lived the greatest part of his life, and died in the Creek Country.

Mr. Bowles, in consequence of being told at what period Madawg's emigration took place, observed, that his followers could not have increased to so numerous a people considering how few they were when they emigrated. But the accounts of Mr. Price and of Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Kentucky, agree in saying, that the Padoucas have lately lessened their number, through the rage of civil discord.

Mr. Rankin also represents, that there are evident traces of their having formerly inhabited the country about Kentucky; particularly wells dug, which still remain unfilled, and ruins of buildings, neither of which were the works of the Indians. From the last particulars we may infer, that the Welch Indians found by Morgan Jones in North Carolina, about one hundred and thirty years ago, were the Padoucas, or at least a part of them; who, receding into such of the interior parts as were unpossessed

by the natives, as the European Colonists spread over the maritime countries, remained stationary for a time on the banks of the Ohio; but, in consequence of exploring that river to its junction with the Mississippi, and still pressing onward, they discovered, and finally settled in, the beautiful region where we now find them.

WILLIAM OWEN.

Columbus' Discovery of America Questioned

[Lady Frazer's Papers in Gentleman's Magazine Quoted in Burder's Welch Indians, Page 5]

The chief thing that induced me to look into some authors here mentioned, was my reading a small book in octavo lent me by a French gentleman to pursue about twenty-five years ago; it was translated into English and gave an account of a great nation of Indians within-land from Cape Florida that actually speak Welch.

1. Please to look into James Howell's Letters, vol. ii., p. 71, concerning the ancient Brittaines, and you will find that Madoc ap Owen, the first in the year 1170, which is three hundred and sixteen years before Columbus saw it. He died at Mexico, and this following epitaph was found engraven on his tomb in the Welch language.

"Madoc wifmio ydie wedd,
Jawn ycnan Owen Gwynedd,
Ni fennum dvi enriddoedd,
Ni dv mawr ondy mervedd."

[ENGLISHED]

"Madoc ap Owen was I call'd,
Strong, tall, and comely, not enthrall'd
With home-bred pleasures; but for fame,
Through land and sea I fought the fame."

2. See third volume of the Voyages of the English Nation, by Richard Hakluyt, Student of Christ Church, in Oxford, p. 1.

3. See Pagett's Christianography, p. 47.

4. See the third and last volume of the Turkish Spy, p. 202.

5. See Purchas's Pilgrimage, book viii, p. 899.

6. See Broughton, who affirms that the faith of Christ was preached in America by some of our first planters that preached in Britain.

7. See George Abbot, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's History of the World, p. 255, 56, and 57, who informs us that King Arthur had some knowledge of America, and that a prince of Wales first found it out.

8. See the Welch Cambria, wrote by David Powell, and Sir John Price, Knt. translated into English by Humphrey Llyod, Gent., there you will see the reasons that induced the Prince Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd to travel.

9. See Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, and the words the natives used when they talked together. They say these and the like words: gwrundo, which is hearken, or listen, in Welch; a bird with a white head, they call pengwyn; the white rock, caregwen; a river, gwndwr; and there is a promontory, not far from Mexico, called Cape Breton, all which are British words; and many more words of like nature; which does manifestly show that it was that country that Prince Madoc's people inhabited.

XVII

UNBELIEVERS IN THE MADOC TRADITION

Nearly all the extracts taken from various authors and authorities and inserted in the foregoing appendix or text are in favor of the truth of the tradition of a Welsh colony established by Prince Madoc in America in the Twelfth century. Only a fraction of them can be considered as dissenting, and this dissent is generally given in such mild terms as to carry no weight. It was not my purpose in preparing this monograph to present only one side of the question, or to quote from authorities only who were in full accord. I proposed to present facts as they appear in history and tradition and to bring to their support the authorities which sustain them, without any wish on my part to give the weight of authority to either side. With the facts as stated in the text and presented in the extracts the reader has the means of forming an opinion of his own as to whether the tradition be true or false. It might seem fairer, however, when so many authorities in favor of the tradition are given, to present some which do not favor it, if any such be known. I know of but two authors of eminence enough to speak on the subject, who did not believe in the truth of the Madoc tradition and put themselves on record to that effect. These were Lord Littleton, who in his "Life of King Henry II" with considerable energy denied the truth of the Madoc tradition, and William Robertson, who in his "History of America" did likewise. Neither of these historians had much to say on the subject, but what was said left no doubt of his unbelief in the truth

of the tradition. If it were my undertaking to establish the truth of the Madoc tradition, I might say that neither Littleton nor Robertson use uncontested facts or unanswerable arguments in what they say; but as it is my purpose only to present an historic sketch of the subject, I have no criticism to offer. In the following two extracts, one from Littleton and the other from Robertson, the reader will have before him all that these two authors said on the subject.

Littleton on the Madoc Tradition

This being the last mention made of the Welsh in my account of these times, I will take notice here of a remarkable passage in Dr. Powell's history of Wales, concerning a voyage performed by one of their princes in the 16th year of the reign of King Henry the Second. The words are these:

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's sons, left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and fought adventures by sea, sailing west, and leaving the Coast of Ireland so far to the north, that he came to a land unknown where he saw many strange things."

In enquiring what credit is due to this story, it will be necessary to premise that this part of the History published by Dr. Powell is not taken from the Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan, who (as Powell affirms) ended his collections in the year 1156, antecedent to the date of this supposed event; but it is said by Humphrey Lluyd, the translator of Caradoc, to have been compiled from collections made from time to time, and kept in the abbeys of Conway and Stratflur.



BANGOR VILLAGE



BANGOR CATHEDRAL

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We are also told that the best and fairest copy of these was written by Gutryn Owen in the days of Edward the Fourth, and translated into English by the Humphrey Llyud before-mentioned, who flourished in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and continued the history to the death of Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffyth in the year 1282. But, this gentleman having been prevented by death from publishing his work, it was not sent to the press till the year 1584, when Dr. Powell published it, with many additions and interpolations of his own. The latter says in his preface "that he had conferred Llyud's translation with the British book, whereof he had two ancient copies, and corrected the same when there was cause so to do," and adds, "that, after the most part of the book was printed, he received another larger copy of the same translation, being better corrected, at the hands of Robert Glover, Somerset herald, a learned and studious gentleman in his profession, the which if he had had the beginning, many things had come forth in better plight than they now be."

It is therefore very doubtful whether the above-cited passage concerning the Madoc voyage gives the sense of the British book which Gutryn Owen had transcribed, as translated by Llyud, or as corrected by Powell, and whether we can depend on its being agreeable to the original text. It may be suspected that Llyud, living after the discovery of America by Columbus, may have dressed up some accounts of traditions about Madoc, which he found in Gutryn Owen, or other ancient Welsh writings, in such a manner as to make them convey an idea, that this prince, who perhaps was a bolder navigator than any of his countrymen in the age when he lived, had the honour of

being the first discoverer of that country. Sir Philip Herbert, a writer of the same nation, who is zealous for the truth of this supposed discovery (which he conceives would give our kings a title to the West Indies) adds to the authority of Gutryn (or Guten) Owen, that of Cynwrick ap Grono, another ancient Welsh bard, and also of Sir Meredith ap Rhees who lived in the year 1477. The words of the former bard he does not quote, but those of the latter he does, and translates them into English. The poet, speaking in the person of his hero, says,

"Madoc ap Owen was I call'd,
Strong, tall and comely, not enthralled,
To home-bred pleasure, but to fame:
Thro land and fea I fought the fame."

This proves indeed that Madoc was famous in those days for some voyage he had made, but, not marking the course, it is of no importance to the matter in question, which entirely depends on his discovering land to the south-west of Ireland. Dr. Powell, having given the description above cited, viz: that he sailed west, and leaving the coast of Ireland far north, came to a land unknown, adds the following note:

"This Madoc arriving in that western country, into which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again with ten sails, as I find it noted by Gutryn Owen."

And then he gives us some reasons why he takes this land unknown to have been some part of Mexico, rather than of Nova Hispania, or Florida as Llyud had supposed. Without comparing the arguments for their different con-

jectures (as none of them seem to me to have much weight) I will only say that if Madoc did really discover any part of America, or any islands lying to the south-west of Ireland in the Atlantic ocean, without the help of the compass, at a time when navigation was ill understood, and with mariners less expert than any others in Europe, he performed an achievement incomparably more extraordinary than that of Columbus. But, besides the incredibility of the thing itself, another difficulty occurs; that is, to know how it happened that no English historian, contemporary with him, has said a word of this surprising event, which, on his return into Wales, and public report of the many strange things he had seen, must have made a great noise among the English in those parts, and would have certainly reached the ears of Henry himself. Why is no notice taken of a fact so important to the honour of his country by Giraldus Cambrensis, who treats so largely of the state of Wales in his times? One may also be in some doubt, what could have caused so entire a destruction of the colony planted by Madoc, and of all belonging to it, as that in no land, since discovered to the south-west of Ireland, any certain monument, vestige, or memory of it, has ever yet been found. But the first foundation of all enquiry about this adventure, which many good modern writers have inclined to believe, should be a faithful and well-attested translation of the words of Gutryn Owen, or Cynwrick ap Grono, relating thereto, if their writings still remain. (Notes to Littleton's Henry II, edition of 1767, Volume 4, page 371.)

Robertson on the Madoc Tradition

The pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America seem not to rest on a foundation much more solid. In the Twelfth century, according to Powell, a dispute having arisen among the sons of Owen Guyneth, king of North Wales, concerning the succession to his crown, Madoc, one of their number, weary of this contention, betook himself to sea in quest of a more quiet settlement. He steered due west, leaving Ireland to the north, and arrived in an unknown country, which appeared to him so desirable that he returned to Wales, and carried thither several of his adherents and companions. This is said to have happened about the year 1170, and after that, he and his colony were heard of no more. But it is to be observed that Powell, on whose testimony the authenticity of this story rests, published his history about four centuries from the date of the event which he relates. Among a people as rude and illiterate as the Welsh at that period, the memory of a transaction so remote must have been very imperfectly preserved, and would require to be confirmed by some author of greater credit, and nearer to the era of Madoc's voyage, than Powell. Later antiquaries have indeed appealed to the testimony of Meredith ap Rees, a Welsh bard who died A. D. 1477. But he, too, lived at such a distance of time from the event that he can not be considered as a witness of much more credit than Powell. Besides, his verses, published by Hakluyt, Volume III, page 1, convey no information but that Madoc, dissatisfied with his domestic situation, employed himself in searching the ocean for new possessions. But even if we admit the authen-

ticity of Powell's story, it does not follow that the unknown country which Madoc discovered by steering west, in such a course as to leave Ireland to the north, was any part of America. The naval skill of the Welsh in the Twelfth century was hardly equal to such a voyage. If he made any discovery at all, it is more probable that it was Madeira, or some other of the Western isles. The affinity of the Welsh language with some dialects spoken in America has been mentioned as a circumstance which confirms the truth of Madoc's voyage. But that affinity has been observed in so few instances, and in some of these is so obscure, or so fanciful, that no conclusion can be drawn from the casual resemblance of a small number of words. There is a bird which, as far as is yet known, is found only on the coasts of South America, from Port Desire to the Straits of Magellan. It is distinguished by the name of Penguin. This word in the Welsh language signifies White-head. Almost all the authors who favor the pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America mention this as an irrefragable proof of the affinity of the Welsh language with that spoken in this region of America. But Mr. Pennant, who has given a scientific description of the penguin, observes that all the birds of this genus have black heads, "so that we must resign every hope (adds he) founded on this hypothesis of retrieving the Cambrian race in the New World." *Philos. Transac.*, Volume LVIII, page 91, etc. Besides this, if the Welsh, towards the close of the Twelfth century, had settled in any part of America, some remains of the Christian doctrine and rites must have been found among their descendants when they were discovered about three hundred years posterior to their

migration; a period so short, that in the course of it we can not well suppose that all European ideas and arts would be totally forgotten. Lord Littleton, in his notes to the fifth book of his History of Henry II, page 371, has examined what Powell relates concerning the discoveries made by Madoc, and invalidates the truth of his story by other arguments of great weight. (Robertson's History of North and South America, London edition, 1834, page 241.)

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LIST OF FILSON CLUB PUBLICATIONS

The Filson Club is an historical, biographical, and literary association located in Louisville, Kentucky. It was named after John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, whose quaint little octavo of one hundred and eighteen pages was published at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784. It was organized May 15, 1884, and incorporated October 5, 1891, for the purpose, as expressed in its charter, of collecting, preserving, and publishing the history of Kentucky and adjacent States, and cultivating a taste for historic inquiry and study among its members. While its especial field of operations was thus theoretically limited, its practical workings were confined to no locality. Each member is at liberty to choose a subject and prepare a paper and read it to the Club, among whose archives it is to be filed. From the papers thus accumulated selections are made for publication, and there have now been issued twenty-three volumes of these publications. They are all paper-bound quartos, printed with pica old-style type on pure white antique paper, with broad margins, untrimmed edges, and halftone illustrations. They have been admired both at home and abroad, not only for their original and valuable matter, but also for their tasteful and comely appearance. They are not printed for sale in the commercial sense of the term, but for distribution among the members of the Club. Only limited editions to meet the wants of the Club are published, but any numbers which may be left over after the members have been supplied are exchanged with other associ-

ations or sold at about the cost of publication. The following is a brief catalogue of all the Club publications to date.

1. JOHN FILSON, the first historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources, prepared for The Filson Club and read at its second meeting in Louisville, June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D., President of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Filson, a facsimile of one of his letters, and a photo-lithographic reproduction of his map of Kentucky printed at Philadelphia in 1784. 4to, 132 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1884.

2. THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for The Filson Club by Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. Illustrated with a map showing the routes of travel. 4to, 75 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1886.

3. THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the Daily Press, 1830. Prepared for The Filson Club by William Henry Perrin, member of the Club. Illustrated with facsimiles of pages of the Kentucky Gazette and Farmer's Library, a view of the first printing house in Kentucky, and likenesses of John Bradford, Shadrack Penn, and George D. Prentice. 4to, 93 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888.

4. LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE, sometime a Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of

Kentucky. By the Reverend William H. Whitsitt, D. D., member of the Club. 4to, 151 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1888.

5. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of the Reverend William Jackson, the Reverend Edmund T. Perkins, D. D., and views of the church as first built in 1839 and as it appeared in 1889. 4to, 90 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889.

6. THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY: A narrative of public events bearing on the history of the State up to the time of its admission into the American Union. By Colonel John Mason Brown, member of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author. 4to, 263 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1889.

7. THE CENTENARY OF KENTUCKY: Proceedings at the celebration by The Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of President Durrett, Major Stanton, Sieur LaSalle, and General George Rogers Clark, and facsimiles of the music and songs of the Centennial Banquet. 4to, 200 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1892.

8. THE CENTENARY OF LOUISVILLE: A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May

1, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the city of Louisville as an incorporated town under an act of the Virginia Legislature. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Colonel Durrett, Sieur LaSalle, and General George Rogers Clark. 4to, 200 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1893.

9. THE POLITICAL CLUB, Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790. Being an account of an early Kentucky debating society, from the original papers recently found. By Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. 4to, xii-167 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1894.

10. THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF RAFINESQUE. Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its meeting Monday, April 2, 1894. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D., member of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Rafinesque and facsimiles of pages of his *Fishes of the Ohio* and *Botany of Louisville*. 4to, xii-227 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky, 1895.

11. TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY. Its origin, rise, decline, and fall. Prepared for The Filson Club by Robert Peter, M. D., and his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, members of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Doctor Peter. 4to, 202 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1896.

12. BRYANT'S STATION and the Memorial Proceedings held on its site under the auspices of the Lexington Chapter D. A. R., August 18, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters. Prepared for publication by Reuben

T. Durrett, A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of officers of the Lexington Chapter D. A. R., President Durrett of The Filson Club, Major Stanton, Professor Ranck, Colonel Young, and Doctor Todd, members of the Club, and full-page views of Bryant's Station and its spring, and of the battlefield of the Blue Licks. 4to, xii-227 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1897.

13. THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS OF KENTUCKY. The Journals of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1750, and of Colonel Christopher Gist, 1751. Edited by Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, Vice-President of the Club. Illustrated with a map of Kentucky showing the routes of Walker and Gist throughout the State, with a view of Castle Hill, the residence of Doctor Walker, and a likeness of Colonel Johnston. 4to, 256 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1898.

14. THE CLAY FAMILY. Part First—The Mother of Henry Clay, by Zachary F. Smith, member of the Club. Part Second—The Genealogy of the Clays, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay, member of the Club. Illustrated with a full-page halftone likeness of Henry Clay, of each of the authors, and a full-page picture of the Clay coat-of-arms, also four full-page grouped illustrations, each containing four likenesses of members of the Clay family. 4to, vi-276 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1899.

15. THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. Part First—The Battle and Battle-ground; Part Second—Comment of the Press; Part Third—Roll of the Army commanded by General Harrison. By Captain Alfred Pirtle, member of the



Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author and likenesses of William Henry Harrison and Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daveiss and Elkswatawa, "The Prophet," together with three full-page views and a plot of the battle-ground. 4to, xix-158 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1900.

16. BOONESBOROUGH, a pioneer town of Kentucky. Its origin, progress, decline, and final extinction. By George W. Ranck, historian of Lexington, Kentucky, etc., and member of the Club. Illustrated with copious halftone views of its site and its fort, with likenesses of the author and of Daniel Boone, and a picture of Boone's principal relics. 4to, xii-286 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1901.

17. THE OLD MASTERS OF THE BLUEGRASS. By General Samuel W. Price, member of the Club. Consisting of biographic sketches of the distinguished Kentucky artists Matthew H. Jouett, Joseph H. Bush, John Grimes, Oliver Frazer, Louis Morgan, Joel T. Hart, and Samuel W. Price, with halftone likenesses of the artists and specimens of their work. 4to, xiii-181 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1902.

18. THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES. By Colonel Bennett H. Young, member of the Club. Presenting a review of the causes which led to the battle, the preparations made for it, the scene of the conflict, and the victory. Illustrated with a steel engraving of the author, halftone likenesses of the principal actors and scenes and relics from the battlefield. To which is added an appendix containing a list of the officers and privates engaged. 4to, 288 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1903.



19. THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS. By Zachary F. Smith, member of the Club. Presenting a full account of the forces engaged, the preparations made, the preliminary conflicts which led up to the final battle and the victory to the Americans on the 8th of January, 1815. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of the author, of Generals Jackson and Adair, of Governors Shelby and Slaughter, and maps of the country and scenes from the battlefield, to which is added a list of Kentuckians in the battle. 4to, 224 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1904.

20. THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY. By Doctor Robert Peter, deceased. Prepared for publication by his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, member of the Club. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of the author and principal professors, and a view of the old medical hall and its janitor. 4to, 205 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1905.

21. LOPEZ'S EXPEDITIONS TO CUBA. By A. C. Quisenberry, member of the Club. Presenting a detailed account of the Cardenas and the Bahia Honda expeditions, with the names of the officers and men, as far as ascertainable, who were engaged in them. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of A. C. Quisenberry the author, General Narciso Lopez commander-in-chief, Colonel John T. Pickett, Colonel Theodore O'Hara, Colonel Thomas T. Hawkins, Colonel William Logan Crittenden, Captain Robert H. Breckenridge, Lieutenant John Carl Johnston, and landscape views of Cuba, Rose Hill, Moro Castle, and a common human bone-heap of a Cuban cemetery. In the appendix, besides other valuable matter, will be found a

full list of The Filson Club publications and of the members of the Club. 4to, 172 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1906.

22. *THE QUEST FOR A LOST RACE*. By Thomas E. Pickett, M. D., member of the Club. Presenting the theory of Paul B. DuChaillu, an eminent ethnologist and explorer, that the English-speaking people are descended from the Scandinavians rather than the Teutons, from the Normans instead of the Germans. Examples of similar customs and peculiarities between the Scandinavians and English are given, and the work illustrated with half-tone likenesses of the author, of William the Conqueror, of DuChaillu, and of "Our Beautiful Scandinavian," with maps of Scandinavia and Northumbria, and with likenesses of a number of distinguished Kentuckians whose names, aspects, and habits indicate descent from the Scandinavians or Norman-French. 4to, 229 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1907.

23. *TRADITIONS OF THE EARLIEST VISITS OF FOREIGNERS TO NORTH AMERICA*, the first formed and first inhabited of the continents. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL. B., A. M., LL. D., President of the Club. An attempt to show that history, tradition, and science favor the probability that the East was originally peopled from the West, that the first Oriental visitors found this country already with occupants, and that America was really the first formed and first inhabited of the continents. The principal pre-Columbian discoveries are cited, and ample space given to the tradition that Prince Madoc planted a Welsh colony in America in the Twelfth century which at one time occupied the

country at the Falls of the Ohio. Copiously illustrated with halftone views of mountains, valleys, castles, churches, abbeys, etc., in Wales, the native country of the colony, a view of the Falls of the Ohio at the time the colony may be supposed to have dwelt there, and a likeness of the author. 4to, 200 pages. John P. Morton & Company, Printers, Louisville, Kentucky. 1908.

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